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2013 IAROSLAV KOVALCHUK LINGUISTIC COMPONENT OF A CHARISMATIC LEADER APPEAL

UNIVERSITY OF THE ALGARVE

LINGUISTIC COMPONENT OF A CHARISMATIC LEADER APPEAL

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Dissertation

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The research was completed under the supervision of:

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ABSTRACT

Though in the past charisma was perceived as something extraordinary, divine and irrational, nowadays the concept is treated as a psychological phenomenon, rooted in the leaders' ability to persuade and motivate the followers. While charisma is not limited to the personality traits of a leader, but is rather an interplay between the characteristics of the leader, the followers and the context, certain psychological features and communication skills of the leaders serve as a starting point in forging a charismatic appeal.

In our research we advocate the approach according to which different charismatic leaders have common psychological characteristics, which are reflected in the peculiarities of their discourse. Thus, the political speeches of charismatic leaders may as well contain common verbal patterns. The aim of our research is to identify these verbal patterns and use them in decoding universal personality characteristics of charismatic leaders.

To meet the aim of our research, we have conducted psychological content analysis of 18 most significant political speeches of the most charismatic American presidents of the last 50 years, namely John F. Kennedy, Ronald Reagan and Barack Obama. In order to distinguish between charismatic and non-charismatic rhetoric, we have additionally analyzed 6 speeches of the least charismatic American president of the period – Gerald Ford. Psychological content analysis was complemented with the recommendations from critical discourse analysis, which allowed us to examine the influence of context and audience characteristics on the use of certain linguistic categories by charismatic leaders.

We have employed our findings in developing the recommendations for speech-writers, which explain how specific frequencies of certain linguistic categories may enhance the perceptions of the leader's extraversion, agreeableness, emotional stability and other Big Five personality traits by the audience. Finally, we draw the attention of speech-writers to the observation that the use of certain linguistic categories is context dependent and the type of the speech: inaugural address, candidate speech, university commencement address or speech delivered abroad – may require a more skillful and flexible use of these categories.

RESUMO

Ainda que no passado 'carisma' tenha sido visto como algo extraordinário, divino e irracional, hoje em dia, o conceito é tratado como um fenómeno psicológico, baseado na capacidade dos líderes em persuadir e motivar seguidores. Embora carisma não se limite aos traços de personalidade de um líder, representa uma interação entre as características do líder, dos seguidores e do contexto, sendo que certas características psicológicas e habilidades comunicativas dos líderes servem como um ponto de partida na formação de um apelo carismático.

Na nossa pesquisa, suportamo-nos na teoria segundo a qual os diferentes líderes carismáticos têm certas características psicológicas em comum, que são refletidas nas peculiaridades dos seus discursos. Assim, os discursos politicos dos líderes carismáticos podem também conter os padrões verbais comuns. O objetivo da nossa investigação é identificar esses padrões verbais e usá-los para decifrar as características de personalidade, que são universais para os diferentes líderes carismáticos.

Para alcançar o objetivo da nossa pesquisa, efetuámos a análise psicológica de conteúdo de 18 dos mais importantes discursos políticos dos presidentes norte-americanos considerados como sendo os mais carismáticos dos últimos 50 anos, noamedamente John F. Kennedy, Ronald Reagan e Barack Obama. A fim de distinguir entre a retórica carismática e não-carismática, também analisámos seis discursos do presidente menos carismático da época – Gerald Ford. A análise psicológica de conteúdo foi complementada com as recomendações da análise crítica do discurso, o que nos permitiu analisar a influência das características do contexto e do público sobre o uso de certas categorias linguísticas pelos líderes carismáticos.

Empregámos os nossos resultados no desenvolvimento das recomendações para escritores/redatores de discursos, que explicam como as frequências específicas das certas categorias linguísticas podem aumentar as perceções de extroversão, afabilidade, estabilidade emocional e outros traços de personalidade (Big Five) do líder pelo público. Finalmente, chamámos a atenção de escritores de discursos para a observação de que certas categorias linguísticas dependem do contexto e do tipo de discurso: discurso inaugural, discurso do candidato, endereço universitário ou discurso proferido no exterior – o que pode exigir um uso mais habilidoso e flexível dessas categories.

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GLOSSARY OF TERMS

Adverbial intensifiers – adverbs that make statements sound stronger.

Charisma – relationship of power in which a leader with exceptional qualities and skills influences the followers who, intrinsically, are in pursuit of a strong character to follow, within a charisma-conducive environment.

Charismatic appeal – an array of specific personality traits, which results in extraordinary personal magnetism and likeability.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) – an interdisciplinary approach to the study of discourse that views language as a form of social practice and focuses on the ways social and political domination are reproduced in text and talk.

Explainers – words and expressions which suggest causal connections or justification of the speaker's thoughts and actions.

Extravert – a person that is explicit in expressing their emotions and considerations as well as more concerned with external things rather than with internal self.

Five-factor model – a comprehensive descriptive personality system that explains the relationships among common traits, theoretical concepts, and personality scales; it includes extraversion, agreeableness, conscientiousness, emotional stability and openness to experience.

Negatives – function words and grammatical structures used to negate statements.

Political discourse – a complex of discourse practices between participants of political processes in particular social environment, dealing with certain topic of societal importance and aimed at reaching specific communication aims.

Psychological analysis – an analytic method according to which mean scores of certain linguistic categories may be used to make conclusions on specific traits of speaker's character, based on the assumption that personality traits are revealed by grammatical structures which have slow rate of change and mirror characteristic coping mechanisms.

Qualifiers – words and linguistic constructions which express uncertainty, weaken statements without adding information, and contribute a sense of vagueness to a statement.

Quantitative content analysis – the systematic and replicable examination of symbols of communication, which have been assigned numeric values according to valid measurement rules, and the analysis of relationships involving those values using statistical methods, to describe the communication, draw inferences about its meaning, or infer from the communication to its context, both of production and consumption.

Retractors – adversative expressions which are used to weaken or reverse previously spoken remarks.

Standard deviation (SD) – the average difference of a set of scores from their mean.

Traits – enduring personal qualities or attributes that influence behavior across situations.

Vision – a set of idealized goals established by the leader that represent a perspective shared by followers.

Introduction

Individuals with the ability to evoke positive feelings in others are often characterized as possessing charisma. In many cases people employ the attribute in their everyday communication without clearly understanding what charisma is and what psychological potential it bears. In popular literature the concept is regarded as something innate, irrational and difficult to explain. In our research we will attempt to rationalize the concept, systematize the psychological characteristics united under a broad heading of charisma and study the possibility of developing charismatic appeal.

Since charisma is associated with individual ability to influence other people's behavior and the degree of individual "likeability", this attribute plays an especially important role in organizational settings and leadership in general. The ability to convince the audience into "doing things", motivate the followers and obtain positive group results is regarded as an essential component of political leadership when the position one occupies in hierarchy directly depends on the personality characteristics of an individual.

The role charisma may play in political careers is vividly illustrated in the history of American presidential leadership. Many U.S. presidents who are widely regarded as the most outstanding national leaders are characterized by historians and the general audience as charismatic. An extensive number of studies on American presidents, availability and diverse character of their communication samples make U.S. leaders a perfect subject for research on charisma. Thus, our current study will be based on 18 political speeches of three most charismatic American presidents of the last 50 years (John F. Kennedy, Ronald Reagan and Barack Obama) and six speeches of the least charismatic president of the period – Gerald Ford. The latter is included in the research in order to identify differences between charismatic and non-charismatic rhetoric as well as to examine communication patterns which are common not only for the charismatic American presidents, but for the American presidential discourse in general.

We regard charismatic appeal as a constellation of certain personality characteristics of the leader. Different charismatic leaders are supposed to have many common psychological attributes, which will influence the followers in a similar way

and will lead to similar leadership outcomes. In order to exclude the influence of cultural differences and factor of time, leaders in our study are taken from one country and from one historical period. Furthermore, we assume that leaders' personality characteristics are revealed in their communication. While ideological content of political messages may be easily manipulated in accordance with current popular demand for political ideas, leader's discourse contains linguistic structures which are frequently overlooked, but in their combination they compose a unique communication style of a politician and reveal a significant amount of information about personality traits of the latter. Hence certain communication patterns may be directly linked to certain psychological characteristics of the leader.

Our major hypothesis is summarized in the following way:

The political speeches of charismatic leaders belonging to one political culture and one historical period are characterized by certain common linguistic features, the analysis of which may be used to draw conclusions about the politician's personality.

For instance, even at the initial stages of our research we may assume that charismatic leadership is based on extreme loyalty of the followers. Thus, charismatic leaders should skillfully develop sense of followers' attachment to the leader's ideas and sense of group affiliation. One of the basic linguistic categories which may be used for these purposes is personal and possessive pronouns. That is why we will need to explore the usage of self-referential (*I, me, my*) and inclusive (*we, us, our*) pronouns in the speeches of charismatic presidents versus non-charismatic ones.

Devotion of followers also depends on the leader's ability to clearly express the ideas and emotions and transmit them to the audience through communication. It demonstrates that there must be a link between charismatic appeal and extraversion. This connection may be studied through detailed consideration of emotional categories such as expressions of feelings and constructions which intensify the emotional force of statements.

Since charismatic leadership is associated with important changes in society and political situation in the country in general, charismatic leaders are essentially perceived as drivers of these changes. It makes us presume that charismatic speakers will be more proactive and this personality feature will be reflected in communication as well, for instance, in specific usage of pronoun *me*, which, when used frequently, is associated with passivity.

Those are only some of major arguments that come to our mind while starting our current research. They will be thoroughly developed and supplemented with others in the body of dissertation as well as inclusion of theoretical material on the matter will allow us to contextualize these arguments in a more detailed fashion in the practical part of the research.

Taking into consideration all the above mentioned, we understand that political discourse is complex in its nature. The fact that it contains both implicit and explicit elements requires us to combine several analytical methods. We believe that the fusion of quantitative and qualitative perspectives will guarantee reliability and in-depth character of our results. Thus, in our research we will employ psychological content analysis for obtaining quantitative data and critical discourse analysis as its qualitative counterpart for explaining the influence of the context on the category use. Utilization of psychological content analysis as a major methodological tool is also justified since this method foresees tracking direct connection between use of certain linguistic categories and specific personality traits of a charismatic speaker.

The aim of our study encompasses the fulfillment of several tasks:

1.To identify characteristic features of political discourse and study the possibility of combining quantitative and qualitative methods of its analysis.

2.To explicate the employment of psychological content analysis while studying political speeches.

3.To expand interpretative capabilities of psychological content analysis through employment of some recommendations from critical discourse analysis.

4.To systematize previous studies on charismatic leadership and charismatic rhetoric.

5.To investigate the possibility of decoding charismatic identity on the basis of the leader's communicative patterns.

6.To observe the influence of various context features on the use of linguistic categories in charismatic rhetoric.

7.To study the possibility of employing our findings in the development of speech-writing recommendations, aimed at enhancing charismatic appeal of political leaders.

The practical value of our research lies, first of all, in the analysis of the linguistic component of charismatic leaders' behavior. We will attempt to find out how political speeches of charismatic politicians differ from the speeches of non-charismatic

ones. Secondly, our research is aimed at creating a psychological portrait of charismatic leaders. What personality traits are the most important in charismatic appeal? Are they flexible or stable depending on the context? How do these personality attributes influence followers, context and charismatic leadership in general? Thirdly, the recommendations developed on the basis of psychological content analysis may be employed by politicians and their speechwriters in the process of preparing speeches in order to boost positive perceptions of a leader by the followers. On the other hand, these recommendations may be used by journalists and political scientists in order to decipher the deliberate manipulation techniques of politicians and identify the individuals whose major aim is to satisfy their ambitions and lobby their personal interests, but not to bring about positive changes in society. Finally, in our research we try to integrate quantitative and qualitative approaches to personality studies as well as to develop cross-disciplinary (linguistics, psychology and political science) knowledge of the topic. The original nature of our study is also reinforced by the fact that it is the first research that offers a psychological content analysis of charismatic rhetoric proper.

In the first chapter we will focus on theoretical aspects of our research: defining political discourse as a notion and its peculiar features, analyzing the place of political speech in the system of political discourse, and describing the core principles of content analysis, critical discourse analysis and psychological analysis which will be employed in the study of American presidents' political speeches. Furthermore, we will systematize previous studies on the definition of charisma, typical personality attributes charismatic leaders are expected to possess, and peculiar features of their rhetoric. The first chapter ends with personal perspective of the author on definition of political discourse, combination of various methodological tools while studying it as well as on conceptualization of what charismatic leadership is and what components it includes.

The second chapter will include a detailed description of the practical part of our research. It will demonstrate how we have formulated research questions, how presidents under study have been selected and how the whole corpus of their speeches has been constructed. It also explains the algorithm of psychological content analysis in our research as well as the role CDA will play in interpretation of the results.

The third chapter contains the results we have obtained and the discussion whether our propositions are supported and what factors influence the variance in the use of various linguistic categories by American presidents.

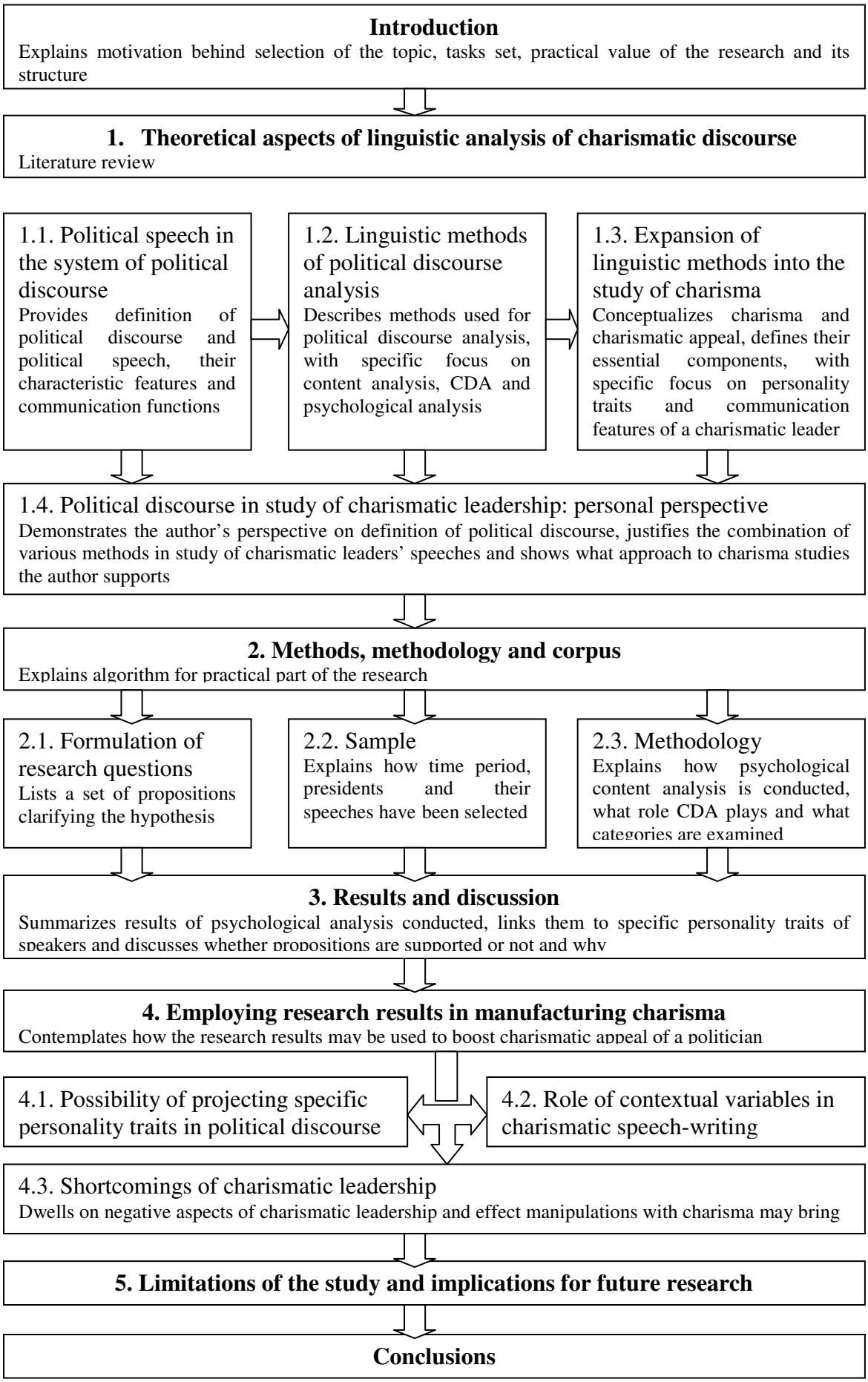
The fourth chapter encompasses a set of recommendations that politicians and their speech-writers should take into consideration while preparing speeches. The recommendations have been developed on the basis of our original research and are aimed at linking specific use of linguistic categories to projecting the perceptions of a leader's personality attributes. Since our research is based on American presidential discourse, our recommendations may be valid for the speeches of American politicians only. Moreover, in the fourth chapter certain manipulations with linguistic style are discussed with regard to different speech types. Possible shortcomings of charismatic leadership and of deliberate manipulations with the politician's rhetoric are also included in this chapter.

The fifth chapter focuses upon the limitations of our study and offers new avenues of research that may stem from it.

The general summary of the research and its findings may be found in the Conclusions section of the thesis.

The appendixes include list of speeches taken for analysis, mean scores of psycholinguistic categories for the first seven post-WWII American presidents, measured by Walter Weintraub (2003), and mean scores of psycholinguistic categories for John F. Kennedy, Ronald Reagan, Barack Obama, and Gerald Ford, measured in our current research. The whole corpus of presidential speeches, which our research is based on, is provided as a separate appendix on the CD-ROM placed in the envelope in the end of the dissertation.

Development of the arguments throughout our research and logical construction of the dissertation is schematically explained on the following page.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1. Theoretical aspects of linguistic analysis of charismatic leadership

1.1. Political speech in the system of political discourse

Political linguistics is a relatively young science as it went through the process of its formation as a separate branch of applied linguistics in the second half of the 20th century. With the appearance of the notion of political discourse in the 1950s the increased research in the field fostered the development of a new discipline.

The Russian scholar A. Baranov believes that three major factors played a key role in the establishment of political linguistics (Baranov 2001: 245). Firstly, the internal needs of linguistic theory could not leave out such a sphere of language system functioning as politics. Secondly, the establishment of political linguistics was caused by political science needs to study political thinking and its connection with political behavior; the need to develop forecast models and methods of political texts analysis in order to monitor tendencies in public conscience. Thirdly, there was certain social demand connected with the attempts to set political communication free from the manipulations with public conscience (Baranov 2001: 245). Since the development of informational technologies increased the amount of communication channels politicians could use to transmit their messages to the target audience, the number of political texts was multiplied manifold and an ever-increasing corpus became a source of social demand to study it.

As the major subject of political linguistics is political discourse proper, it is important to define the term, which is not as easy a task as may seem at first sight. Political discourse is studied within the methodological framework of not exclusively linguistics, but of political science, sociology, philosophy and psychology. In every discipline scholars focus on peculiar features of political discourse, which results in different interpretations of the concept. For instance, David W. Johnson and Roger T. Johnson treated the concept from the sociological and psychological point of view and defined political discourse as “the formal exchange of reasoned views as to which of several alternative courses of action should be taken to solve a societal problem” (Johnson and Johnson 2000; reprinted in Deutsch, Coleman, Marcus 2006: 90). According to Baranov, political discourse is “a complex of discourse practices which

identify the participants of political discourse or form a particular theme of political communication"[1] (Baranov 2001; 245-246). Alternatively, Pereversev and Kozhemiakin study language of political communication from the philosophical viewpoint and claim that "political discourse may be seen as specifically organized and thematically focused sequence of utterances that is produced within some peculiar historical and social frameworks and which reception may support and change the relations of power in society" (Pereverzev and Kozhemyakin 2010: 49).

According to Schäffner (1996), while being a sub-category of discourse in general, political discourse may be characterized by two criteria: functional and thematic. Since political discourse is a result of politics and it is historically and culturally determined, it may fulfill different functions, which will reflect different political activities. It is thematic because its topics are primarily related to politics such as political activities, political ideas and political relations (Bayram 2010: 27).

In general, it is possible to single out two major linguistic approaches to defining political discourse (Gavrilova 2008: 59). According to a more general approach, political discourse encompasses "any speech formations, subject, addressee or contents of which belong to the sphere of politics"[2] or it may be viewed as "a set of speech productions in a specific paralinguistic context – in the context of political activity, political opinions and beliefs, including their negative manifestations – political activity evasion, absence of political beliefs"[3] (Gavrilova 2008: 59).

Some supporters of a broader definition of political discourse identify it with the language of a public sphere. Since political function is characteristic of practically every public statement, they think that political discourse should include any actual language usage in sociopolitical or public sphere of communication. Identification of a text as a political one is determined not only by its topic, but by its place in the system of political communication as well (Gavrilova 2008: 60).

[1] "совокупность дискурсивных практик, идентифицирующих участников политического дискурса как таковых или формирующих конкретную тематику политической коммуникации" (my translation from Russian).

[2] "любые речевые образования, субъект, адресат или содержание которых относится к сфере политики" (my translation from Russian).

[3] "сумма речевых произведений в определенном паралингвистическом контексте – контексте политической деятельности, политических взглядов и убеждений, включая негативные ее проявления (уклонение от политической деятельности, отсутствие политических убеждений)" (my translation from Russian).

In a more specific interpretation political discourse does not exceed the limits of political sphere proper (Gavrilova 2008: 60). However, van Dijk states that "political discourse is not a genre, but a class of genres defined by a social domain, namely that of politics (van Dijk 2002: 19). Gavrilova names Teun van Dijk as one of the advocates of a narrower definition of political discourse due to the fact that the Dutch linguist limits "the range of political discourse to the "professional" realm of the activities of politicians" (van Dijk 2002: 20), at the same time emphasizing the institutional character of political discourse. It means that scholars should consider only those discourses of politicians, which are produced in institutional settings, such as governments, parliaments or political parties. In a more action-oriented way we may say that discourse is political when it accomplishes a political act in a political institution (van Dijk 2002: 20).

John Gastil cites two other definitions of political discourse in a narrower sense: Graber's statement that political discourse occurs "when political actors, in and out of government communicate about political matters, for political purposes" (Graber 1981: 196) and Bitzer's definition of political rhetoric, which includes "every citizen who deliberates and creates messages about civic affairs" (Bitzer 1981: 228) (Gastil 1992: 469).

As we may see from the above mentioned definitions, scholars fail to reach consensus not only on the matter of defining the term, but on the matter of finding a universal name for the concept itself. Though the term "political discourse" is the most popular, such variants as "political rhetoric", "language of politics", "political language" may be encountered in the works of scholars who study political texts and language of political communication in general.

Though Schäffner agrees that "political language, political discourse, and political text themselves are vague terms" (Schäffner 1996: 202), she draws a clear distinction line between the concepts of political discourse and political language. Schäffner admits that in linguistic literature political language denotes the use of language in the context of politics, i.e. a specific language use with the purpose of achieving a specific, politically motivated function, or it denotes the specific political vocabulary, i.e. words and phrases that refer to extralinguistic phenomena in the domain of politics. Political discourse is a narrower term and along with the notion of "political communication" may be used to denote only the use of language in political context. Schäffner differentiates between internal and external political communication, based

on the setting and the communicative partners involved. Internal political communication would refer to all forms of discourse that concern first of all the functioning of politics within political institutions, i.e. governmental bodies, parties or other organizations (Schäffner 1996: 202). While in internal communication the texts primarily discuss political ideas, beliefs, and practices of a society or some part of it, external political communication is, first of all, aimed at the general public, i.e. non-politicians. These two types of communication are realized by a variety of text types, or genres, which may sometimes function both in internal and external communication (Schäffner 1996: 202).

Gavrilova (2008) supports Ruth Wodak in her claim that a peculiar feature of political discourse is that it is placed in between two poles – functionally circumscribed special language and jargon of a certain group with its own ideology. That is why political discourse should fulfill contradictory functions, namely be comprehensible (according to the tasks of propaganda) and oriented towards a particular group (due to historical and socio-psychological reasons) (Gavrilova 2008: 60). At the same time it constructs a part of general discourse, being an object of lingo-cultural studies, a secondary language subsystem which has specific functions, peculiar thesaurus and communicative action or a type of ideological discourse (Gavrilova 2008: 60-61).

Parshyn (1987) claims that the core difference between political discourse and discourse in general lies not so much in the use of some special formal means, as in the shift of co-relation between a sign (word) and its meaning, due to which "ordinary linguistic units receive extraordinary interpretation and well-known situations are placed into unexpected contexts"[4] (Parshyn 1987: 407). Such specific character of political discourse as a system may explain the regularity, according to which, in political communication, implicit meanings often contradict literary ones. Parshyn (1987) underscores that in many cases "this implicit meaning is a true meaning of a political text"[5] (Parshyn 1987: 407).

Moreover, due to extensive use of implicit meanings and speculations with words and notions, political discourse "can misrepresent as well as represent realities, it can weave visions and imaginaries which can (with consent and feasibility) be

[4] "единицы хорошо знакомого языка получают несколько необычную интерпретацию, а хорошо знакомые ситуации подводятся под несколько неожиданные категории" (my translation from Russian).
[5] "этот самый неэксплицитный смысл и есть «истинный» смысл политического текста" (my translation from Russian).

implemented to change realities and in some cases improve human well-being, but it can also rhetorically obfuscate realities, and construe them ideologically to serve unjust power relations" (Fairclough 2006: 1).

In order to perceive political discourse properly, and successfully counteract abusive manipulations within it, one has to develop a system of sociopolitical preferences in the informational field of political texts, which will be helpful in the process of regulating one's behavior within this field. According to psycholinguistic model of mass communication, a communicative act aimed at producing certain planned effect may be defined as psychological manipulation (Voznesenska 2004). Voznesenska (2004) claims that political text in general and political speech in particular may be treated as a symbolic reality model with informational purpose, as a conscious imitation of this reality and as a deliberately employed manipulation instrument.

According to Yudina (2001), political speech as a form of public speaking should be studied as the process of communication and as one of the types of social action. Since political speech is realized as an action representing significant social groups (parties, movements, organization), it envisages a high level of its societal influence (Yudina 2001: 173).

Communicative potential of political speeches and their ability to influence large social groups primarily depend on the argumentation system employed by a politician. According to Yudina (2001), complexity of argumentation system is directly connected to the complexity of social interaction mechanisms. In modern democratic societies discursive forms of social interaction prevail over directive ones, which results in the development of argumentation systems with a higher complexity level (Yudina 2001). Thus, discourse prevails over the orders and recourse to force and individuals become motivated to increase persuasive potential of their arguments.

Persuasive function is one of the key functions of political discourse, which distinguishes it from the general linguistic context. Edelman (1988) also notes that the function of political discourse is to present proposals concerning actions and policies that ought, should, or must be pursued as well as what future realities must be prevented and what future realities are desirable (Pu 2007: 206). Agreeing with Edelman, Dunmire (2005) posits a key ideological component of political discourse, that is, "its construction and representation of future realities and the rhetorical function those representations serve in implicating more immediate material and discursive practices and actions" (Pu 2007: 206). Parshyn (1987: 403) underscores that "every text

influences the addressee's conscience from semiotic point of view. However, for a political text linguistic influence is a major aim of political communication for the achievement of which linguistic means are carefully selected"[6].

The choice of linguistic means is dictated by a number of characteristics, the most important of which are a way of interaction with the audience (directly or through mass-media), characteristics of the target audience, a speech type and personal style of a political leader. All the above mentioned factors should be taken into consideration in the process of political discourse analysis.

Political speech which is delivered through mass-media (especially the one which is deliberately prepared for this purpose) has its own specific features and additional levers of influence (Yudina 2001). First of all, mass media influences the process of context construction in political discourse and "creates the effects of remoteness and theatricality in discourse" (Pereversev and Kozhemiakin 2010: 51). Secondly, involvement of mass media into speech production creates additional target audience and increases the potential of mass influence (Yudina 2001). Moreover, delivering a speech via mass-media, political leader generalizes his audience, its intellectual level, social demands and political preferences. On the contrary, communicating with the crowd, e.g. at the party rally or conference, a politician has an opportunity to choose linguistic means more thoroughly as the target audience is limited and may be studied beforehand. Besides, in that case politicians may be more flexible with their statements as they observe the behavior of the crowd and its overall mood and may swiftly react to the changes in the latter.

Conducting a research, political discourse analysts should also define target audience, answer the questions what social groups it includes and what problems a political text addresses. Besides, it is necessary to decode the link between the speech content and the level of satisfaction of the target audience's financial, intellectual and spiritual needs.

Analogously, speech type also plays an important role in political discourse analysis as it influences the choice of linguistic and rhetorical means in the political speech. Political speeches include reports, political reviews, official addresses, public

[6] "всякий текст оказывает воздействие на сознание адресата с семиотической точки зрения. Но для политического текста речевое воздействие является основной целью коммуникации, на достижение которой ориентируется выбор лингвистических средств" (my translation from Russian).

statements, parliamentary debates, election campaign speeches etc. Presidential political discourse is an interesting object for political discourse analysis as, due to the specific features of their political activity, presidents have to deliver various types of political speeches.

Manipulations with meanings and contexts, sophisticated word choice aimed at influencing mass conscience and numerous communication strategies successfully employed to gain popular support are not the only aspects scholars have to deal with in the study of political discourse. Another important challenge is to provide an objective analysis of the thoughts expressed in political texts, learn how to filter out sets of beliefs a politician possesses, and thus split a multi-tier model of the political discourse of a particular politician into specific compounds. Frequently, the above mentioned compounds, especially the beliefs or ideologies a speaker presents in his or her political texts, may contradict one another or even be incompatible, which makes it difficult for a politician to strike a balance in the process of speech production and even more difficult for a scholar to decode the way this balance has been achieved.

Thus, as we may see, a combination of several ideologies in the political texts of one and the same politician is another specific feature of political discourse.

Having focused much attention on the study of political discourse from ideological point of view, van Dijk claims that in political texts and talk of a politician it is usually possible to differentiate at least two types of ideologies: professional and sociopolitical ones (van Dijk 2002: 15). On the one hand, a politician occupies a certain position in the system of public administration, which obliges him to represent the political institution he works for and thus vocalize an official standpoint of the latter. On the other hand, the very same politician may belong to specific social, political or religious group and in particular situations he may express his personal beliefs as its member or even as an individual on his own. All in all, the amount of ideologies a politician presents in his political discourse depends on the number of social roles he plays.

The ideologies politicians present and set of beliefs they share are directly connected with the identity they possess. According to Zimmerman (1998), there are three main types of identity that can be discerned in a person: transportable, situational and discourse identity. The first type can be described as the essence of a human being; it is the identity which a person carries, or "transports" along with him/her and that is present in any context. The second type is the identity that emerges depending on a

specific situation and which changes in different contexts (van de Mieroop 2005: 107). Finally, there is the discourse identity, which is constructed locally in every single stretch of talk or text that a person produces (van de Mieroop 2005: 108). According to van de Mieroop (2005), it is this final type of identity construction which is mostly the focus of linguistic studies.

Since our research focuses on the political discourse of American presidents, it drastically increases an amount of "political faces" we have to examine in political speeches of American leaders. In its turn, a deliberate choice of specific political image in a particular situation will subsequently define the choice of communicative and linguistic means employed in political speeches. For instance, at the official meetings with international leaders an American president has to represent not only his electorate, but his country in general. It makes his tone more moderate, with no evident signs of his party affiliation and abundant usage of diplomatic constructions and words with general meaning. While running for re-election, he will play both the roles of American president and a candidate, which will result in his political discourse gaining more aggressive traits and better defined target audience. Finally, the president's discourse will be different depending on the situation and the audience he communicates with: whether he delivers a speech at his party rally, presents a lecture in front of university students or has a private talk with his friends.

To sum up, political speech is an essential component of political discourse as it is a specific form of political communication act which is produced in a respective institutional setting. Moreover, the major function of political speech is linguistic influence on the conscience of the target audience as a politician strives for gaining popular support in the society and promoting his political beliefs among the potential electorate. However, political speech cannot be studied only as a form of political text per se. The analysis of political speeches should be linked to the analysis of the context, of the setting in which political speeches are delivered, of the target audience and of the personality of the political leader who produces them. Those are the key factors that influence the production of political speeches and define the peculiar features of political discourse in general.

1.2. Linguistic methods of political discourse analysis

Although “political linguistics” and “political discourse” are rather new notions, there is scholarly belief that first discourse studies date back to the ancient Greek and Roman times. In the first handbook of discourse analysis van Dijk (1985) identified classical rhetorical writers (e.g. Aristotle, Quintillion and Cicero) as the first discourse analysts and defined classical rhetoric as the intellectual starting point for much of what goes on in the communication field today (Schiffrin, Tannen and Hamilton 2004: 727; cited in Mackey 2006: 4).

However, rhetorical writers predominantly focus on the rhetorical strategies, which may be used to express thoughts clearly and persuasively in front of the audience, whereas discourse analysts have developed an elaborate methodology which allows them to study political discourse from various aspects and define what factors influence the effect of political communication on the audience and to what extent. Besides, Schiffrin et al. (2004) suggest “rhetorical scholars” are more interested in analyzing the meanings in literature and other art from a humanities perspective while “discourse analysts” tend to be social scientists looking for psychological or sociological implications in texts and symbols (Mackey 2005: 4).

For Chilton and Schäffner (1997) “one focus of attention in political discourse analysis has been a critical reflection on the strategic use of political concepts, or keywords, for achieving specific political aims” (Pu 2007: 206).

Wilson (2001) argues that the major goal of political discourse analysis (PDA) is “to seek out the ways in which language choice is manipulated for specific political effect”; therefore, it requires the involvement of almost all levels of linguistics (Wilson 2001: 410).

According to Pu (2007), PDA helps to make conscious consideration of the relationships between the speaker and the listeners, which are established during the actual utterance of the text, so it requires the balance between linguistic analysis and political analysis. In other words, PDA looks at what specific linguistic choices have been made in what social and political terms and cause what political effect (Pu 2007: 206). Similarly, Schäffner (1996) claims that “political speech analysis can be successful when it relates the details of linguistic behavior to political behavior” (Schäffner 1996: 202).

Since political discourse analysts should pay attention to numerous linguistic and extra-linguistic factors, the spectrum of categories they may focus on is immense. John Gastil (1992) organizes all academic writings on political discourse “into four

broad categories: 1) lexicon, including vocabulary, technical words, imprecise words, euphemisms and loaded words; 2) grammar, including speech acts, implicature, syntax, pronouns and naming conventions; 3) rhetorical strategies, including the use of integrative complexity, rituals, metaphors and myths; 4) conventional tactics, including turn-taking and agenda-setting" (Gastil 1992: 473-474).

Similarly, Chilton and Schäffner (1997) offer three levels of linguistic analysis of texts and talk that can be used to analyze the speaker's strategic functions: pragmatics, semantics, and syntax (Pu 2007: 206).

On the other hand, Weintraub (2003) argues that verbal component of speech may be studied from four different theoretical perspectives: 1) phonology, which describes how sounds are put together to form words; 2) syntax, which describes how sentences are formed from words; 3) semantics, which deals with the interpretations of the meaning of words; and 4) pragmatics, which describes how we participate in conversations (Weintraub 2003: 137). Furthermore, Weintraub (2003) claims that such nonverbal phenomena as rate, pauses, amplitude, and pitch should also be taken into consideration.

Pennebaker, Mehl and Niederhoffer (2003) draw a clear distinction between qualitative and quantitative discourse studies. "Qualitative" analysts consider utterances and entire texts "within the context of the goals of the speaker and the relationship between the speaker and the audience" (Pennebaker et al. 2003: 549). According to such qualitative perspective, "language is, by definition, contextual", and the meaning the utterances convey is believed to have so many layers that it can only be decoded by human judges (Pennebaker et al. 2003: 549). All in all, qualitative analyses provide the researcher with broad impressions or agreed-upon descriptions of text samples, without relying on numbers or statistics (Pennebaker et al. 2003: 549).

Quantitative perspective relies on a count and statistical analysis of particular language features. Pennebaker et al. (2003) classify all the quantitative studies into three broad categories: judge-based thematic content analysis, word pattern analysis and word count strategies.

Judge-based thematic content analyses involve judges who identify the presence of critical thematic references in text samples on the basis of empirically developed coding systems (Pennebaker et al. 2003: 549). This methodology has been widely applied for studying a variety of psychological phenomena such as motive imagery, explanatory styles, cognitive complexity, psychiatric syndromes, goal structures,

arousal patterns associated with cultural shifts, and levels of thinking (Pennebaker et al. 2003: 549).

The aim of word pattern analyses is to track the specific patterns in the word usage, thus exploring the texts "bottom up" (Pennebaker et al. 2003: 549). Such an approach helps to define to what extent the texts are similar to one another and even to find out their genuine authorship. According to Pennebaker et al. (2003), one of particularly promising word pattern strategies is latent semantic analysis (LSA).

Word count strategies are based on the assumption that the words people use convey psychological information over and above their literal meaning and independent of their semantic context (Pennebaker et al. 2003: 550). Although some language researchers consider this assumption problematic, others see unique potentials in analyzing word choice because of judges' readiness to "read" content and their inability to monitor word choice (Pennebaker et al. 2003: 550). According to Pennebaker et al. (2003), word count strategies may be employed both for the analysis of content (what is being said) and style (how it is being said). At the same time they may focus on the analysis of rather complex linguistic categories as well as on simple word counts.

While Pennebaker et al. (2003) focus on the analysis of language as a psychological marker, Titscher, Meyer, Wodak, and Vetter (2000) have a more linguistically-oriented approach to classification of discourse analysis strategies. Titscher et al. (2000) offer the following list of discourse analysis methods (with the names of major scholars who introduced particular methods, given in the brackets): content analysis (Lasswell), grounded theory (Glaser/Strauss), conversation analysis (Sacks, Schlegloff Jefferson), membership categorization device (Sacks), ethnography of communication (Hymes), functional pragmatics (Ehlich/Rehbein), distinctions theory text analysis (Titscher/Meyer), objective hermeneutics (Oevermann), narrative semiotics (Greimas), SYMLOG (stands for "a System for the Multiple Level Observation of Groups" – Bales/Cohen), CDA (Critical Discourse Analysis - Fairclough), discourse historical method (Wodak) (Titscher et al. 2000: 51).

However, even such an extensive and detailed classification of discourse analysis methods cannot claim itself to be exhaustive. For instance, American scholar David Winter is one of the advocates of employing motivational method of analysis while studying political speeches. His works prove that political discourse analysis cannot be purely linguistic matter and involvement of the methodology techniques from psychology, sociology and political science provides the researcher with a better

perspective on the subject under study, simultaneously increasing validity, trustworthiness and in-depth character of its results.

Similarly, Ruth Wodak underscores the necessity to combine linguistic, cognitive and sociological approaches in order to analyze adequately the complex interrelations between discourse and society (Wodak 2006: 181).

Furthermore, Pereverzev and Kozhemyakin (2010) claim that numerous analytic approaches to political discourse may be divided into two main categories, with the first being critical discourse analysis that "is based on interpretation of discourse as unambiguously extra-linguistic phenomenon in which the social, political and cultural characteristics dominate the linguistic nature of the discourse", and the second category concentrating on development of linguistic approach to political discourse in which "the context of the realization of language and texts of politics is interpreted in terms of linguistic content of discourse: the semantic and syntactic structures of language may determinate behavior, views and relations among people" (Pereverzev and Kozhemyakin 2010: 49). Taking into account that "to a large extent these two scientific strategies cannot exist separately as they complement each other" (Pereverzev and Kozhemyakin 2010: 49), the scholars emphasize the necessity to establish a unitary multi-parametric model of political discourse, which will make it possible "not only to unite the scientific methodology of cross-disciplinary area, but also to create the new methodological basis for the study of both political and other institutional discourses" (Pereverzev and Kozhemyakin 2010: 52).

Besides, in order to study the identity in speeches using a larger corpus of texts for analysis, Dorien van de Mieroop offers to use an integrated approach of qualitative and quantitative analysis (van de Mieroop 2005: 107). Due to the fact that it is the identity of political leaders that our research will focus on (specifically, the charismatic component of their identity) and that our corpus is rather large (24 speeches of American presidents), it is reasonable to employ such an integrated approach in our analysis as well.

However, it goes without saying that it is practically impossible to combine all the above mentioned methods of discourse analysis in one academic research. On the other hand, usage of only one or two methods of discourse analysis would result in an unbalanced and one-sided character of political speeches analysis. That is why, in order to find similar features in the political speeches of charismatic American presidents and to draw a general regularity of which linguistic and rhetoric devices are the most

efficient in the process of constructing a charismatic leader appeal, we will combine three different methods of discourse analysis, namely content analysis, CDA and psychological analysis. The choice of the methods to use may be explained by pragmatic reasoning. Content analysis is one of the longest established and thus well-developed methods of discourse analysis, based on empiric calculations of certain categories of analysis, which provides the results of high validity and trustworthiness. Besides, some scholars claim that psychological and critical discourse analysis use the instrumental base of content analysis and, to some extent, they even stem from the latter. CDA is a new, yet very popular approach, which is praised for its objectivity due to the study of the context in which discourse takes place, the social role it plays and the social action it produces. Finally, a psychological method will enable us to link the linguistic categories of discourse analysis to certain psychological phenomena, such as charisma and charismatic appeal.

1.2.1. Content analysis

Content analysis is the longest established method of text analysis among the set of empirical methods of social investigation (Titscher et al. 2000: 55). The first content-analytic researches of newspaper texts appeared in the USA in the second half of 19th - beginning of 20th centuries as a response to the needs of booming mass media industry. Analytic methods of systematic, objective and quantitative description of the printed media materials were developed by the representatives of American school of journalism under the name of quantitative newspaper analysis (Yuskiv 2006: 9).

According to Titscher et al. (2000), content analysis originally focused on clearly quantifiable aspects of text content, in most cases those being absolute and relative frequencies of words per text or surface unit. Subsequently the concept was extended to include all those procedures which operate with (syntactic, semantic and pragmatic) categories, but which seek at least to quantify these categories by means of a frequency survey of classifications (Titscher et al. 2000: 55).

The appearance of any research methodology is connected with the historical expediency of the latter at certain diachronic period. At the turn of 20th century there were both objective and subjective reasons for the establishment of content analysis as research methodology. Among the objective causes Yuskiv (2006) names the following:

1. Fast development of mass media (information content started to be treated as an object of special research); variety of texts produced by mass media required analysis as a new social phenomenon.
2. Tendency to employ natural sciences methods in social sciences.
3. Necessity to study mass media texts in order to track the influence which they exert on people (due to active propaganda work during the revolutions and the WWI)[7] (Yuskiv 2006: 12).

Subjective necessity for content analysis arose from the sociology and journalism experts' beliefs about the role and possibilities of mass media. The scope of scholarly interest concerned the study of propaganda effect on mass conscience, that is to say, analyzing political behavior of the speaker and forecasting the effect it will have on the audience (Yuskiv 2006: 12).

American scholar Harold Lasswell is recognized as the founder of classical content analysis school. In the 1920s-1930s he started to use quantitative analysis in the study of wartime and political propaganda materials and laid a theoretical foundation for a new method (Yuskiv 2006: 15). Lasswell defined the approach and the goals of content analysis: signs and statements are analyzed to test their effect on the audience; the results are the frequencies of particular symbols, their intensity and the assessment of the senders (Titscher et al. 2000: 56). In content analysis scholars "look upon statements and signs as raw materials to be summarized in order to bring out either 1) the impact of content over the audience, or 2) the influence of control upon content (Lasswell 1946: 90)" (Titscher et al. 2000: 57).

With the course of time terms of classical content analysis became too strict, which resulted into the appearance of two new approaches: instrumental analysis and in the 1940s – representational analysis (Yuskiv 2006: 28).

According to Osgood (1959), a characteristic feature of instrumental content analysis is that the latter takes into consideration the implicit elements of the message, which helps to reproduce genuine information, no matter what the strategy of the speaker is. On the contrary, representational analysis helps the researcher to classify, identify and understand the content as it is intended by the author. Thus, instrumental text analysis is used to identify an object of communication, e. g. individual and social

[7] "- стрімке поширення засобів масової комунікації (зміст інформації став розглядатися як об'єкт спеціального дослідження); розмаїття вироблених ЗМІ текстів як нове соціальне явище вимагало вивчення;
- тенденція до використання методів природничих наук у науках соціальних;
- необхідність вивчення текстів ЗМІ з метою виявлення ефектів, які вони справляють на людей (на тлі розвитку пропагандистської діяльності у зв'язку з революціями і Першою світовою війною)" (my translation from Ukrainian).

characteristics of a speaker, whereas representational analysis is aimed at characterizing texts in terms of the way authors understand them or the way they want the target audience to understand them (Yuskiv 2006: 28-29).

Though content analysis went through the process of evolution in the 20th century, there was still much debate going on concerning the validity of the method. A major drawback of the method was its primary focus on the study of explicit text features, which limited the scope of the method significantly and confined it to the descriptive method (Yuskiv 2006: 81). According to Yuskiv (2006), many scholars claimed that the task of content analysis was to discover latent content of communication through tracking its manifestations in text structure (Yuskiv 2006: 81).

Another shortcoming of the method is that content analysis, especially quantitative one, examines words and certain semantic categories beyond genuine context, which, in its turn, makes it impossible to study the role of communication in it (Yuskiv 2006: 81). Thus, "text as a system (its linear structure) is destroyed and turned into combination of separate compounds such as categories and subcategories of analysis"[8] (Yuskiv 2006: 82).

Moreover, content analysis opponents claim that frequency of the categories identifies certain phenomenon, but it does not always indicate the importance of the latter to the author (Yuskiv 2006: 82). For instance, some key notions may be mentioned by the speaker only once or they may not appear in the text at all, but be obvious in extra-linguistic context as an author's implication of his attitude to the problem. A good illustration would be the article titles, which are mentioned only once, but may provide more information about personal standpoint of the author than the text of the article itself. That is to say, category frequency and its importance are not always directly connected.

The desire to mitigate drawbacks of quantitative content analysis influenced the evolution of the term itself. While at first scholars defined content analysis as simplistic as "a research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication" (Berelson 1952: 18) or as "any research technique for making inferences by systematically and objectively identifying specified characteristics of messages (Holsti 1968)" (Titscher et al. 2000: 57), Riffe, Lacy and

[8] "Текст як система ("лінійність" тексту) руйнується і перетворюється в сукупність окремих складових, у ролі яких виступають категорії та підкатегорії аналізу" (my translation from Ukrainian).

Fico (2005) have come up with the following extensive definition of quantitative content analysis:

> Quantitative content analysis is the systematic and replicable examination of symbols of communication, which have been assigned numeric values according to valid measurement rules, and the analysis of relationships involving those values using statistical methods, to describe the communication, draw inferences about its meaning, or infer from the communication to its context, both of production and consumption (Riffe et al. 2005: 25).

However, attempts to deal with the shortcomings of the method were not limited to the reflections over the definition, but to the changes in the methodology as well. Some scholars started to analyze concepts which are rarely used in the text, but are essential for highlighting the position of communication source. The focus was shifted to the implied concepts and even the text structure since the place of a specific concept in the text – at the beginning, in the middle or at the end of the message – may also indicate the importance of the concept to the author. Thus qualitative content analysis was developed, which became a counterpart of quantitative one. Major drawback of a new approach is the exaggerated role of the researcher who can independently select categories and concepts within the categories. Thus subjectivity of the method increases as the analysis of the identical set of documents performed by different scholars may give different results.

Regardless of the risk of subjective results, in the 20th century content analysis was developing in the direction of amplification of its interpretive possibilities, that is to say, the balance of quantitative and qualitative analysis was shifted to a qualitative one (Yuskiv 2006: 102-105). Still there was an intensive discussion regarding the usage of both approaches.

Advocates of quantitative content analysis claimed that it should be used at the initial stage of research whereas qualitative approach may be employed to increase the validity of quantitative study. Supporters of qualitative content analysis believed that content analysis should be conducted to answer the questions, but not to ask them; answers would significantly depend on the character of the questions (Yuskiv 2006: 105).

Nevertheless, nowadays most scholars agree that both approaches are complementary. They claim that category formation is connected with qualitative research whereas analysis of units within category requires quantitative research. Thus,

a qualitative approach is present in a quantitative one and vice versa (Yuskiv 2006: 105).

The complementarity of this kind results in certain difficulties scholars face in the process of defining theoretical distinction between both approaches. The core and central tool of any content analysis is its system of categories: every unit of analysis must be coded, that is to say, allocated to one or more categories, which are understood as the more or less operational definitions of variables (Titscher et al. 2000: 58). Nevertheless, it is generally agreed that quantitative content analysis studies "presence/absence of specific words, messages, images and topics which are expressed explicitly in the texts whereas qualitative analysis focuses on implicit messages and meanings within the texts"[9] (Yuskiv 2006: 105). Thus, qualitative content analysis requires "respective interpretation system which would be based not on the frequency count, but on scrupulous study of more delicate aspects of text structure, location of its parts and its content"[10] (Yuskiv 2006: 105).

Obviously, due to the fact that both approaches of content analysis literally go hand in hand, in order to receive objective and valid results of research, scholars have to combine instrumental methodology of both content analysis subtypes harmoniously.

1.2.2. Critical Discourse Analysis

As Schäffner (1996) states, in political discourse "linguists […] have always been interested in the linguistic structures used to get politically relevant messages across to the addressees in order to fulfill a specific function", but "narrow linguistic analysis of political discourse cannot ignore the broader societal and political framework in which such discourse is embedded" (Schäffner 1996: 201). Therefore, Schäffner (1996), Sauer (1996), and Fairclough (1996) claim that the analysis of political speeches in political discourse should relate linguistic structures to larger contexts of communicative settings and political functions, and they recommend using critical discourse analysis (CDA) as the integrated approach (Pu 2007: 207).

To go back to a broad definition of content analysis, to some extent, the procedures of critical discourse analysis may be seen as multidimensional and multi-

[9] "присутність/відсутність специфічних слів, повідомлень, образів або тем, які явно проглядаються в досліджуваних текстах, тоді як якісний аналіз цікавився прихованими та неявними повідомленнями або значеннями в межах текстів" (my translation from Ukrainian).

[10] "відповідної системи інтерпретації, яка б базувалося не на простому підрахунку частот, а на вивченні більш тонких аспектів побудови тексту, розміщення його частин і змісту" (my translation from Ukrainian).

stage content analyses as well. The technique of content analysis may well be used within the framework of critical discourse analysis (Titscher et al. 2000: 68).

CDA as a network of scholars emerged in the early 1990s and consisted of Teun van Dijk, Norman Fairclough, Gunter Kress, Theo van Leeuwen and Ruth Wodak (Wodak and Meyer 2009: 3). According to Wodak and Meyer (2009), "critical" component of CDA was taken from the earlier works in the domain of critical linguistics and theoretical deliberations of the Frankfurt School and Jürgen Habermas, though, ever since the concept of critique has gone through significant evolution and currently "is used in a broader sense, denoting […] the practical linking of "social and political engagement" with "a sociologically informed construction of society"" (Wodak and Meyer 2009: 6-7).

Talking about the process of establishing CDA as a separate methodology, Weiss and Wodak claim that "the roots of CDA lie in classical rhetoric, text linguistics and socio-linguistics, as well as in applied linguistics and pragmatics" (Weiss and Wodak 2003: 11).

At the same time Christopher Hart (2005) states that CDA "is derived from research in two areas of cognitive science: cognitive linguistics and cognitive-evolutionary psychology" (Hart 2005). On the one hand, concepts in cognitive linguistics provide a tool kit for the identification and analysis of linguistic and psychological strategies for manipulation in political discourse (Hart 2005). On the other hand, cognitive-evolutionary psychology raises hypotheses as to a particular kind of manipulative discourse – discourse in which information is detailed that may activate/exploit innate cognitive programmes" (Hart 2005).

As a separate school or approach, CDA may be characterized by a number of principles: for example, analysis is problem-oriented, and thus necessarily interdisciplinary and eclectic. Moreover, CDA is characterized by the common interests in de-mystifying ideologies and power through the systematic and retroductable investigation of semiotic data (written, spoken or visual) (Wodak and Meyer 2009: 3).

Perhaps, the most complete and comprehensive summary of general principles of CDA is provided in Ruth Wodak's works (Wodak 1996: 17-20; reprinted in Titscher et al. 2000: 146):

> 1. CDA is concerned with social problems. It is not concerned with language or language use per se, but with the linguistic character of social and cultural processes and structures. Accordingly CDA is essentially interdisciplinary.

2. Power-relations have to do with discourse […] and CDA studies both power in discourse and power over discourse.
3. Society and culture are dialectically related to discourse: society and culture are shaped by discourse, and at the same time constitute discourse. Every single instance of language use reproduces or transforms society and culture, including power relations.
4. Language use may be ideological. To determine this it is necessary to analyze texts to investigate their interpretation, reception and social effects.
5. Discourses are historical and can only be understood in relation to their context. Discourses are not only embedded in a particular culture, ideology or history, but are also connected intertextually to other discourses.
6. The connection between text and society is not direct, but is manifest through some intermediary such as the socio-cognitive one advanced in the socio-psychological model of text comprehension.
7. Discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory. Critical analysis implies a systematic methodology and a relationship between the text and its social conditions, ideologies and power-relations. Interpretations are always dynamic and open to new contexts and new information.
8. Discourse is a form of social behavior. CDA is understood as a social scientific discipline which makes its interests explicit and prefers to apply its discoveries to practical questions.

Taking into account a complex nature of the discourse, Teun van Dijk underscores the necessity of multidisciplinary approach to the discourse studies and offered to "reduce this large number of potential disciplines to three main clusters, namely those involved in the study of *Discourse*, *Cognition* and *Society*" (van Dijk 2000: 9). According to this model, "language use, text, talk, verbal interaction, and communication will be studied under the broad label of *Discourse*" (van Dijk 2000: 9). *Cognition* will cover the following topics: the mental aspects of ideologies, such as their nature as ideas or beliefs, their relations with opinions and knowledge, and their status as socially shared representations, whereas "the social, political, cultural and historical aspects of ideologies, their group-based nature, and especially their role in the reproduction of, or resistance against, dominance, will be examined under the broad label of *Society*" (van Dijk 2000: 9-10).

In support of applying interdisciplinary knowledge while conducting CDA, Wodak states that "the plurality of theory and methodology can be highlighted as a specific strength of CDA, to which this research discipline ultimately owes its dynamics" (Weiss and Wodak 2003: 6). With the same purpose, Weiss and Wodak (2003) provide the following citation:

> We see CDA as bringing a variety of theories into dialogue, especially social theories on the one hand and linguistic theories on the other, so that its theory is a shifting synthesis of other theories, though what it itself theorizes in particular is the mediation between the social and the linguistic – the "order of discourse", the social structuring of semiotic hybridity (interdiscursivity). The theoretical constructions of discourse which CDA tries to operationalize can come from various disciplines, and the concept of "operationalization" entails working in a transdisciplinary way where the logic of one discipline (for example, sociology) can be "put to

> work" in the development of another (for example, linguistics) (Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999: 16).

Thus, CDA may be perceived as an integrative approach, which helps to combine theoretical findings from different disciplines: sociology, linguistics and even psychology, and which may be successfully employed in the study of multi-layered structure of political discourse. Fairclough (1995) goes even further in description of interpretive possibilities of CDA:

> It [CDA] "seeks to investigate systematically often opaque relationships of causability and determination between a) discursive practices, events and texts and b) broader social and cultural structures, relations and processes; how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power; how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony" (Fairclough 1995: 132).

In CDA it is claimed that discursive practices contribute to the creation and reproduction of unequal power relations between social groups, which may be understood as ideological effects of these practices (Jorgensen and Phillips 2002: 63). However, it should be noted that CDA engages in concrete, linguistic textual analysis of language use in social interaction, contrary to discursive psychology, which carries out rhetorical but not linguistic studies of language use (Jorgensen and Phillips 2002: 62-63).

Works in discursive psychology (Potter and Edwards 1999; Edwards and Potter 2005) vividly illustrate how this methodology may be efficiently used in decoding implicit meaning of particular utterances or short stretch of talk and how contextual variables may change general perception of one and the same linguistic units, yet we highly doubt that discursive psychology may be used for the same purposes and with equal efficiency while analyzing larger corpora of political speeches, which is the case in our current research. Overwhelming focus of discursive psychologists on contextual details and fragments of speeches rather than on overall analysis of the latter would be a considerable impediment while achieving the research tasks we put forth.

Similar logic may be applied to justify why we use CDA only to interpret findings of psychological content analysis, but not as a stand-alone method. Psychological content analysis provides us with empirical data, which enable us to compare different speeches and different political leaders on a more rigid and consistent basis. Qualitative nature of CDA would significantly increase the role of researcher's

bias if this research method was used separately or more profoundly than in our research.

It should be noted that though CDA has rapidly become a very popular method in discourse studies, "CDA does not constitute a well-defined empirical method but rather a bulk of approaches with theoretical similarities and research questions of a specific kind" (Wodak and Meyer 2009: 27). These approaches include dispositive analysis (Siegfried Jäger and Florentine Maier), sociocognitive approach (Teun van Dijk), social actors approach (Theo van Leeuwen), corpus linguistics approach (Gerlinde Mautner), dialectical-relational approach (Norman Fairclough), and discourse-historical approach (Ruth Wodak and Martin Reisigl) (Wodak and Meyer 2009: 22).

Although there is no consistent CDA methodology, some features are common to most CDA approaches: (1) they are problem-oriented and not focused on specific linguistic items, yet linguistic expertise is obligatory for the selection of the items relevant to specific research objectives; (2) both theory and methodology are integrated and open to sharing ideas with other academic disciplines as long as it helps to understand the social problems under investigation (Wodak and Meyer 2009: 31).

To sum up, CDA orientation at studying any language use critically and within the particular context makes this methodology a perfect qualitative tool while analyzing political discourse. The need to use qualitative research in the leadership studies and to include contextual factors both in leadership research and training is also well justified by Bryman, Stephens, and à Campo (1996). With content analysis providing mostly quantitative data and generalizing the corpus of speeches under study, CDA offers qualitative perspective on the discourse and may be successfully used to explain any statistical discrepancies which might occur during the content analysis due to the fact that the corpus includes the speeches of four American presidents, which were delivered over quite a significant time span of 50 years and with different political motivation of the speakers. Hence, combination of content analysis and critical discourse analysis creates an integrated approach which encompasses both qualitative and quantitative study of political discourse.

1.2.3. Psychological analysis

Whereas content analysis and CDA are acknowledged as purely linguistic methods which mostly preserve their link with social sciences through embedding their

findings into social context, our research also concerns the study of political leaders' personality, traits of character that influence the greatness of politician and especially the factors that contribute to the creation of charismatic appeal of the latter. All the aforementioned aspects belong to the psychological domain. That is why in our research there arises a need to introduce a method that would enable us to draw conclusions about a politician's personality on the basis of the speeches s/he utters.

In order to denominate such a method, Russian scholars Pocheptsov (2001) and Gavrilova (2004) generally use the term of psychological analysis. According to Gavrilova (2004), the major aim of psychological analysis of political discourse is to decode political text through selecting the repeated signs (words, meanings), which will allow the researcher to track unconscious basic information, which is hidden in the text (Gavrilova 2004: 136-137). Pocheptsov treats the whole approach as "an attempt to infer about non-verbal characteristics of the leader, based on verbal characteristics of his or her texts"[11] (Pocheptsov 2001: 407).

Psychological analysis was originally developed by Walter Weintraub, who argued that "psychological defense mechanisms manifest themselves in speech patterns obtained under mildly stressful conditions" (Pennebaker et al. 2003: 551-552). These defense mechanisms are assessed through a standardized procedure of sampling naturally occurring language. Interviewees are asked to talk on any topic for 10 minutes and then the transcripts undergo a linguistic analysis by naïve judges. Every occurrence of such categories as personal pronouns *I*, *we* and *me*, expressions of feelings, adverbial intensifiers, qualifiers, negatives, rhetorical questions, creative expressions, direct references to audience, explainers and retractors – is manually coded and the mean scores of the categories are counted per 1000 words. High or low scores of particular categories allow the researcher to draw conclusions about specific traits of the interviewee's character. For the analysis of political discourse, transcripts of press-conferences, debates and unprepared speeches are usually taken as a source for the study of defensive mechanisms.

Tausczik and Pennebaker (2010) acknowledge Weintraub's psychological analysis as "the first truly transparent text analysis method", the results of which were consistently related to important outcome measures (Tausczik and Pennebaker 2010: 26). Although Weintraub's argument that the simple words of everyday life speech

[11] "попытка выйти на невербальные характеристики лидера, опираясь на вербальные характеристики его текстов" (my translation from Russian).

reflect psychological state was prescient, his work was largely ignored (Tausczik and Pennebaker 2010: 26). It is one of the major reasons why there are few empirical studies in which psychological analysis was used and which would describe the employment of the methodology in a detailed manner.

In general, in the process of psychological analysis content-analytic methodology is used, which again is an evidence of existing interlacement in between particular scholarly disciplines and methods. Blurred border line between content analysis and psychological analysis resulted in Shaw's (2011) defining Weintraub's approach as psychological content analysis. However, the major difference between content analysis and psychological analysis is that in content-analysis a researcher has to come up with his own categories whereas in psychological analysis the list of categories is set. However, it does not mean that the list cannot undergo any changes, which we will try to accomplish in our research as well.

According to Pennebaker et al. (2003), Weintraub's methodology belongs to the word count strategies. However, it is the only approach, which is manually coded (though at present there are some attempts to make the analysis computer-based (Shaw 2011)).

As for purely computer-based approaches to psychological analysis of natural language usage, Pennebaker et al. (2003) name the following five: the General Inquirer, TAS/C, DICTION, Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count (LIWC) and Factor Analysis by Biber.

The General Inquirer was designed in the early 1960s and it is considered to be a pioneer in computerized text analysis. It is based on the creation of user-defined dictionaries. The General Inquirer's ability to find ambiguous words and then apply disambiguation rules to clarify their meaning in the text allows researchers to study linguistic categories in context. However, according to Pennebaker et al. (2003), the construction of a custom dictionary with the specification of disambiguation rules is time consuming and in many cases not worth the extra effort (Pennebaker et al. 2003: 551).

TAS/C focuses on two language dimensions: emotional tone and abstraction. Emotional tone is defined as a density of emotion words in a given text (2000-entry dictionary within the three dimensions of pleasure, approval, and attachment) whereas abstraction is the amount of abstract nouns (3900-entry dictionary with the nouns having suffixes -ity, -ness, -ment, -ing, and -ion). It should be noted that the both

dictionaries do not overlap. More recently, TAS/C has also been extended to include a measure of referential activity, which is "the ability to verbalize non-verbal experiences, characterized in speech by concreteness, specificity, clarity, and imagery" (Pennebaker et al. 2003: 551).

DICTION program was developed by Roderick Hart and it is more frequently applied in the study of political discourse. It is designed to reveal the verbal tone of political statements by characterizing text on five statistically independent master variables: activity, optimism, certainty, realism, and commonality (Pennebaker et al. 2003: 552). DICTION relies on 10 000 search words, which are grouped into 35 linguistic subfeatures without overlap.

LIWC was developed by James Pennebaker and it is especially efficient in tracking stylistic aspects of language use. It uses the dictionary of 2300 search words or word stems, which have been previously categorized by independent judges into over 70 linguistic dimensions. These dimensions include standard language categories (articles, prepositions, pronouns), psychological processes (emotion categories, cognitive processes), relativity-related words (time, verb tense, motion, space), and traditional content dimensions (sex, death, home, occupation) (Pennebaker et al. 2003: 553). The dimensions are hierarchically organized and may be expended with user-defined categories. Most LIWC categories try to capture information at a very basic linguistic (pronouns, articles, prepositions) as well as psychological level (positive emotions, negative emotions, cognitive words) (Pennebaker et al. 2003: 553).

Biber used factor analysis to study which linguistic dimensions emerge when discourse function rather than grammatical function is taken as the organizing principle (Pennebaker et al. 2003: 553). He sampled texts from different spoken and written genres, selected 67 variables and then factor analyzed them, which clustered word patterns according to their natural co-occurrence. It provided useful information of a common discourse function behind certain words, which can also help to determine the role of words in creating the tone or character of a specific type of text (Pennebaker et al. 2003: 554). Biber found 6 general factors: informational versus involved production, narrative versus non-narrative concerns, explicit versus situation-dependent reference, overt expression of persuasion, abstract versus non-abstract information, and on-line informational elaboration (Pennebaker et al. 2003: 554). The importance of Biber's approach lies in the conclusion that the factors may separate the different linguistic

genres of writing; thus it restructures the English language according to how it is used in text across different written and spoken genres (Pennebaker et al. 2003: 554).

Verbal behavior being a powerful marker of personality is not a new statement, however, according to Pennebaker et al. (2003), the research linking self-reports of personality and word use is still in its early stages (Pennebaker et al. 2003: 558). In this regard study of function words and grammatical structures may yield especially promising results. Analysis of content words provides the researcher with the general understanding of topics and ideas under discussion, whereas it is the choice of grammatical structures and function words that may reveal deeper psychological and cognitive processes underlying the process of communication. Chung and Pennebaker (2007) define it as a linguistic style – the way how people put their words together to create a message – and claim that function words (pronouns, articles, prepositions, conjunctions, and auxiliary words) may carry an array of psychological meanings and set the tone for social interactions. They are not mere glue that holds content words together, but they are also referential words, for efficient usage of which a certain degree of social and cognitive skill is required (Pennebaker et al. 2003: 570). Chung and Pennebaker (2007) and Slatcher, Chung, Pennebaker and Stone (2007) prove that the way people use function words may indicate the gender, cultural, status and age differences as well as fluctuations of emotional states (from non-depression to depression). High frequency of these words in everyday life and commonly non-deliberate use of these units make them efficient markers of psychological personality characteristics and valid categories for computer-based analysis, which is free from human bias and offers a possibility to work with large corpora of texts. Nevertheless, Chung and Pennebaker (2007) argue that function words are mere reflections of underlying cognitive activity and any manipulations with their usage (e.g. forcing people to write or talk differently) will not affect any markers of cognitive and psychological functioning (Chung and Pennebaker 2007: 357).

However, human personality should not be perceived as a mere set of character traits. According to Winter (2003), while it is easy to think of personality as a static set of fixed "qualities", a more modern conception would view personality as an array of capacities or dispositions that may be engaged, primed, or brought forward depending on the demands of the situation and a person's own "executive apparatus" (Winter 2003: 112).

Winter underscores the importance of personality in defining political behavior, stating that "personality factors affect the arousal and weighting of leaders' goals and preferences, as well as conflicts and fusions among different goals" (Winter 2003: 112). Besides, personality affects "leaders' persistence, endurance, and management of emotions"; "how leaders respond to (or resist) cues, symbols, and signs; how they interpret "stimuli" and transform them into "information"" (Winter 2003: 112). Though in their career politicians should be pragmatic, rely mostly on objective analysis of data and thoroughly think out the possible solutions while making final decisions, it is hard to exclude personality component, as it defines politician's attitudes towards the problem and influences the mode of his behavior in particular context. Thus, according to Winter (2003), "personality" explanations supplement rather than replace "rational choice" explanations (Winter 2003: 112).

On the other hand, personality factors influence not only the behavior of political leaders, but of their followers as well. According to Caprara and Zimbardo (2004), in the times when ideological divisions become less distinctive, personality characteristics of political leaders come to the forefront and become the determinant factors in the voting behavior of the population (Caprara and Zimbardo 2004: 581). Electoral outcome is highly dependent on the congruency of value and trait systems of leaders and their followers. Caprara and Zimbardo (2004) differentiate between traits and values in the following way:

> 1. Traits are enduring dispositions, whereas values are enduring goals.
> 2. Traits describe what people are like, while values refer to what people consider important.
> 3. Traits vary in the frequency and intensity of their occurrence, whereas values vary in their priority as standards for judging behavior, events, and people (Caprara and Zimbardo 2004: 590).

However, the scholars underscore that "values and traits operate in concert as components of the same self-system and influence one another reciprocally" (Caprara and Zimbardo 2004: 590), at the same time admitting that values have more significant effect on voting behavior than traits.

Highlighting a complex nature of human personality, Winter (2003) divides it into four elements, or classes of variables: traits, motives, cognitions, and the social contexts. The four elements can be described in terms of two dimensions: (1) whether they are public and observable, or else "inner" and therefore inferential; and (2) whether they are relatively stable across situations and can therefore be described in terms of

"typical levels", or else are highly dependent on situations and contexts (Winter 2003: 115). Based on these characteristics, inferential elements include cognitions (beliefs, attitudes, values, self-concepts) and motives (motives, goals, regulating mechanisms, defense mechanisms) whereas traits and social context are observable components. At the same time cognitions and traits are regarded as trans-situational while motives and social context are situation-dependent (Winter 2003: 115).

Due to the fact that charismatic appeal has to do with politician's interaction with the audience and impression s/he creates on the public, in practical part of our research we will focus on observable elements of his or her personality. What is more, as one of our major tasks is to single out features that are characteristic of charismatic leaders and make these features omnipresent in their speeches regardless of the situation politician may encounter, thus forging specific charismatic rhetorical style, we need to concentrate on trans-situational qualities of leaders' personality. Hence our primary interest concerns observable and trans-situational elements of human personality, which are traits and temperament.

Winter (2003) defines traits as "the public, observable element of personality, the consistencies of style readily noticed by other people" and as such they "reflect the language of "first impressions", the adjectives and adverbs of everyday language that we use to describe other people" (Winter 2003: 115).

Although there are a number of adjectives and adverbs which are used to describe person's character, most scholars agree that all the traits may be organized in five major clusters, thus offering the model of trait factors usually called the Big Five. These trait factors include extraversion, warmth-agreeableness, conscientiousness, emotional stability (low neuroticism) and openness to experience (Winter 2003: 117). High scorers in extraversion are dominant and aggressive whereas low scores are typical of loyal followers. People with a high level of agreeableness are congenial, while their antipodes are remote and hostile. Conscientiousness prevails in responsible people who are ready to do "dirty work", while low score of this factor is characteristic of irresponsible and sociopathic people who at the same time may be rather creative in finding the short-cuts. High scorers in the factor of emotional stability are "unflappable", while low scorers are depressed and neurotic. Low scores of the openness to experience category prove person's rigidity and close-mindedness whereas high scores are an evidence of curiosity (see the table 4.2 Politically Relevant Behaviors for Five Trait Factors, Winter 2003: 118).

Caprara and Zimbardo (2004) claim that extraversion (or energy) refers to an individual's level of activity, vigor, and assertiveness, whereas agreeableness (or friendliness) is associated with concerns and sensitiveness or kindness toward others (Caprara and Zimbardo 2004: 585). As for the other Big Five traits, conscientiousness refers to self-regulation in both proactive and inhibitory aspects, emotional stability may be evaluated by the capability of controlling one's affect and emotional reactions, and openness presupposes the broadness of one's own cultural interest and exposure to new ideas, people, and experiences (Caprara and Zimbardo 2004: 585).

A number of studies in the field (Pennebaker and King 1999; Fast and Funder 2008) demonstrate reliable correlations between word use and the Big Five personality dimensions (both observed behavior and self-reports of extraversion, neuroticism, agreeableness, conscientiousness, and openness to experience). For instance, self-reports of neuroticism are characterized by excessive use of first person singular and negative emotion words, whereas extraversion correlates positively with positive emotion words and words indicative of social processes (Pennebaker et al 2003: 558). Furthermore, frequent use of articles is associated with directly observed behavior of highly intellectual (philosophical, verbally fluent, and skeptical) and open to experience (having wide-ranging interests and aesthetic) individuals (Fast and Funder 2008: 343). The scholars even argue that word use may have a stronger relationship with observed behavior than with self-reported behavior (Fast and Funder 2008: 343).

As an alternative to the Big Five trait model, Margaret Hermann offers a system that consists of seven personal characteristics (Hermann 2003: 184):

1. The belief that one can influence or control what happens.
2. The need for power and influence.
3. Conceptual complexity (the ability to differentiate things and people in one's environment).
4. Self-confidence.
5. The tendency to focus on problem solving and accomplishing something versus maintenance of the group and dealing with others' ideas and sensitivities.
6. An individual's general distrust or suspiciousness of others.
7. The intensity with which a person holds an ingroup bias.

All in all, Hermann acknowledges that the leadership style of politicians may be assessed by three general questions: whether political leaders challenge or respect political constraints in their environment; whether they are open to incoming information and whether the leaders' reasons for seeking their positions are focused on

problem or relationships (Hermann 2003: 181). Nevertheless, five trait model mentioned in Winter (2003) is more universal and therefore more common.

In the contrast to traits of character, motives are defined as "latent dispositions", which may get activated, satisfied, quiescent, and again activated over time (Winter 2003: 116). When and how any given motive is expressed depends on the perceived opportunities and incentives of the specific situation, the time since previous satisfaction, and the presence of other activated motives that may fuse or conflict (Winter 2003: 116). All the motives may be divided into three general classes: power (a concern for impact and prestige, which is associated with getting formal social power and also profligate impulsive actions such as aggression and taking extreme risks), achievement (a concern for excellence, which is associated with moderate risk taking, using feedback, and entrepreneurial success) and affiliation (a concern for close relations with others, which is associated with interpersonal warmth, self-disclosure, and good overall adaptation to life) (Winter 1987: 197). Winter developed a separate methodology of scoring motive imagery in running text (Winter 1989) and proved that motive profiles of politicians may successfully be used for predicting the future actions of the latter, but "only in contingent ("if/then") ways" (Winter 2005: 557). Abundance of scholarly works which study motives caused the appearance of motivational analysis as a separate method of political discourse analysis, though most scholars acknowledge that it is a subtype of psychological analysis (Pocheptsov 2001: 419).

According to Winter (2003), cognitions are another element of human personality:

> Cognitions include a wide variety of mental representations, schemas, models, categories, beliefs, values, and attitudes: mental representations of the self and its many components of social identity; schemas for representing other people, groups, and social systems; beliefs about the scope and nature of politics; and most broadly, conceptions of the nature of the world, truth, beauty, and goodness (Winter 2003: 116).

Though Winter claims that the cognitions "also fluctuate over time and can be affected by persuasion campaigns and "electioneering"" (Winter 2003: 116), it is hard to program them from the viewpoint of political technologies and, as it is an inferential component of human personality, it is observed by the public to a lesser extent, although the role of cognitions in the decision-making process should not be underestimated.

The fourth element of personality is social context. The social context includes both the immediate situation (microcontext) and broader features of social structure such as gender, class, race and ethnicity, culture, and history (macrocontext) (Winter 2003: 116). While many features of the social context are internalized as mental representations, the social context also has a separate "reality"; that is, an autonomous existence as a set of channels, opportunities and affordances, limits, and constraints on the expression of all elements of personality (Winter 2003: 116). As Winter (2003) states: "we are shaped by external contexts, but these contexts (especially gender, race, social class, nationality, and history) then become part of our personalities" (Winter 2003: 116-117).

Winter describes four different ways social contexts influence personality (Winter 2003: 121):

> 1. Taken as a whole, they furnish the forces (or "stimuli") that, interacting with genetic endowment, affects the levels of many personality variables.
> 2. Contexts provide networks of meanings, customs, and relationships in which personality and behavior are embedded and according to which these are considered "normal" or pathological.
> 3. Certain personality characteristics may be unique to, or at least very common and therefore "typical" of certain cultures (and thus related to macrocontext).
> 4. Social contexts channel the expression of all personality characteristics.

As we may see, analogously to critical discourse analysis, advocates of psychological analysis underscore the importance of context in the study of political discourse, which may be viewed as a theoretical "bridge" between two methodologies. The fact that all the three methods: content analysis, CDA and psychological method – are based on statistical count of certain categories and share some theoretical postulates (e.g. the need to study political discourse within the context) proves that these methods do not contradict one another and their combination while analyzing political speeches of American presidents is fully justified.

Major criticism against psychological method of analysis concerns the argument that most formal political speeches are written not by political leaders, but by their speech-writers. That is why the results will provide inferences about speech-writer's personality, but not the politician's one. Nevertheless, Winter refutes this argument with several valid statements (Winter 1987: 198):

> 1. Any good speech-writer knows how to produce words and images that feel appropriate and comfortable to the presidential client.

2. Before a speech presidents spend a good deal of time reviewing and changing the text, paying special attention to the kinds of images that are coded in the motive-scoring systems.
3. The final justification of these scores is their validity in terms of predicting presidential actions and outcomes.

Sigelman (2002) argues that "any attempt to infer underlying personality predispositions from the public utterances of a president has a capacity to mislead" (Sigelman 2002: 849), since presidents tend to present themselves differently depending on the genre of the speech (public or private) and type of the audience. Nonetheless, the analysis of 235 radio commentaries delivered by Ronald Reagan before being elected as president versus his 299 presidential radio addresses (Sigelman 2002) proves that the two personas projected through the speeches are not fundamentally different, though the overall tonality has certain dissimilarities. In general, speeches prepared by Reagan's ghostwriters have slightly higher scores in positivity and activity than his own commentaries. Nevertheless, Sigelman (2002) concludes that "much can be learned about presidents through analysis of the words they utter in public – if not about their core personality, then certainly about the self-images they project" (Sigelman 2002: 850).

As an alternative interpretation, one could view the speeches as reflecting the motives of the loose collectivity called "the administration" and labeled with the leader's name only as an eponym (Winter 2005: 560). Even if the latter is the case, results of psychological analysis prove validity of the method as they characterize the above mentioned collectivity, which is responsible for decision-making and exerting the impression on the public.

After completing profiles of the leadership styles of some 122 political leaders, Hermann states that "the analyst can develop an adequate assessment of leadership style based on fifty interview responses of one hundred words or more in length" (Hermann 2003: 180). Though the researcher underscores the importance of spontaneous answers in the course of analysis, she also claims that "collecting and categorizing interview responses by time, audience, and topic provides a means for assessing how stable the traits composing leadership style are" (Hermann 2003: 180). Since we are interested in a specific characteristic of a political leader, which is charisma, in our research we will focus on the most outstanding political speeches of American presidents as these speeches had the biggest effect on the audience and are a paragon of the way persuasion techniques of political leaders may influence mass conscience. It means that we will

exclude spontaneous interviews of politicians from our sample regardless of Hermann's recommendations.

Beside the requirement to include the speeches from different periods of president's tenure, of various topics and delivered in front of different audiences in the research, Winter underlines the necessity to study political leaders at-a-distance, using archival data, stating as well that "the technique of content analysis can liberate researcher from some of the common problems of measurement in more mainstream personality research" (Winter 2005: 566).

The works of Hermann and Winter prove that psychological analysis of political discourse is a reliable means of evaluating politician's personality and defining what qualities play crucial role in the decision-making process and what traits contribute the most to the formation of charismatic leader appeal.

In general, all the three methods: content analysis, CDA and psychological analysis – share a number of theoretical and practical principles with the major difference that these methods originate from different disciplines: social studies, linguistics and psychology respectively. However, our attempt to combine these methodologies in one research is justified with the necessity to use multi-disciplinary approach in discourse studies as it results in a broader perspective on such complex phenomena as political discourse and charismatic leadership.

1.3. Expansion of linguistic methods into study of charisma

For centuries charisma was perceived as a supernatural phenomenon, which was difficult to understand and almost impossible to develop. In the past people treated charismatic appeal as a sort of a wonder and associated its appearance with God's blessing of a person. Originally a Greek word meaning "gift", charisma was used by the early Christian church to describe gifts from God that enabled the receiver to perform extraordinary feats, such as prophecy and healing (Conger 1989: 21).

One of the first scholars that broadened the meaning of the term "charisma" and employed it in secular, but not only in spiritual context was Max Weber who conceptualized charismatic leadership as a form of social authority in his work – "The Theory of Social and Economic Organization" (Weber 1947).

Weber (1947) developed typology of three "ideal types": the charismatic, the traditional and the rational-legal. According to Weber (1947), charismatic authority

derives its legitimacy not from rules, positions, or traditions but rather from a faith in the leader's exemplary character (Conger 1989: 13). Charismatic leader is "set apart from ordinary men and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman or at least specifically exceptional powers and qualities […] [which] are not accessible to ordinary person but are regarded as of divine origin or as exemplary, and on the basis of them the individual concerned is treated as a leader" (Weber 1947: 358-359). The followers faithfully believe that such an individual has "an inner calling" to be a leader of men (Weber 1946). As for traditional and rational-legal types of authority, Conger (1989) cites Weber (1947), who claims that the former is based on "an established belief in the sanctity of immemorial traditions", while the latter rests on the legality of rules – on the belief that "obedience is owed to the legally established personal order" (Conger 1989: 14). A good illustration of traditional authority is monarchy; leaders who steadily build up their career and gain their political position in the democratic elections usually represent rational-legal authority, whereas charismatic authority is attributed to the leaders that manifest their organizational skills in crisis situations and manage to get popular support on the wave of some revolutionary events.

Weber (1947) further distinguished between the charismatic, the traditional, and the rational-legal in four fundamental ways: rank versus personal authority, the rational revolution versus the heroic revolution, stable versus transitory and formal versus informal organization (Conger 1989: 14-17).

While traditional and rational-legal forms of authority are invested in a rank or office, Weber (1947) argued that charismatic authority is found in the personal qualities of an individual leader (Conger 1989: 14). Whereas traditional and rational-legal leaders are appointed or elected under existing traditions and rules, a charismatic leader is chosen by followers out of a belief that their leader is extraordinarily gifted (Conger 1989: 14). Talking about the rational versus the heroic revolution dimension, "the charismatic revolution depends on beliefs in heroism and revelation [as], through its emotional appeal, charismatic authority seeks to overturn an existing social order that is stagnant or in crisis and its goals are to reorient the world to a more ideal and transcendent order" (Conger 1989: 15) Furthermore, according to Weber (1947), "charismatic authority is essentially unstable and transitory"; "its purpose is to bridge the transition from one existing order to the next", after which it "fades or is routinized" (Conger 1989: 15). In terms of formal/informal organization, "charismatic authority operates informally through human relationships" (Conger 1989: 16-17).

In contrast to Weberian classification of social authority, James MacGregor Burns (1978) offers a simpler model which recognizes only two essential forms of leadership: transactional (or exchange) and transformational (or charismatic). Under transactional leadership followers behave in ways desired by their leaders in exchange for goods (something specific, tangible, and calculable) and the relationship lasts only as long as the needs of both leader and follower are satisfied by the continuing exchange (Conger 1989: 25). On the other hand, transformational leadership takes place "when one or more persons engage with others in such a way that leaders and followers raise one another to higher levels of motivation and morality" (Burns 1978: 20). It is a relationship built upon the deeper needs and emotional desires of followers, as well as those of their leader (Conger 1989: 26). In order to become a transformational leader, a person needs to be self-assured, have positive model of self and others – three elements which are united within the notion of a secure attachment style (Popper, Mayseless, and Castelnovo 2000).

Willner (1984) underscores Weber's role in the establishment of charisma studies, stating that Weber provided scholarly circles with "elements of its [charisma's] typical course: a condition under which it emerges (distress), a requirement for its maintenance (success), a probable outcome (institutionalization), and some of the means by which charismatic leaders exercise their authority (magical abilities, revelations of heroism, powers of mind and speech)" (Willner 1984, cited in Conger 1989: 18).

Weber's work drew attention of other scholars to the research on charisma. The efforts were made not only to rationalize the concept of charisma, but also to break it into specific compounds, which would help to explain the nature of influence charismatic leaders exert on mass conscience. Moreover, researchers were interested in the possibility to train future charismatic leaders and develop their charismatic appeal.

Most researchers agree that the major component of charisma is a set of particular personal traits, charm and personal magnetism a leader possesses. However, all the early attempts to single out universal traits, characteristic of charismatic leaders (Dow 1969, Willner 1984), were unsuccessful and led to the opinion that there might be other critical determinants behind the charisma. Variations in individual personalities were so great (compare Gandhi and Hitler, for example) that a single charismatic personality type seemed highly improbable (Willner 1984: 14).

According to some theorists (Blau 1963, Chinoy 1961, Friedland 1964, Wolpe 1968), another critical determinant in the emergence of charismatic leadership may be the social and historical context (Conger 1989: 19).

Other researchers shifted the focus of charisma studies from leader's personality or context to the followers' characteristics. For instance, Meindl (1990) was one of those who have criticized charismatic leadership theories for being too "leader-centered" and offered a "follower-oriented" approach as an alternative to the conventional theories (Shamir, House, and Arthur 1993: 591). Meindl (1990) argues that the charismatic effects emerge as a result of social psychological forces operating among followers, subordinates and observers, rather than arising directly out of the interactions between followers and leaders. According to Meindl (1990), these social-psychological forces are functionally autonomous from the traits and behaviors of the leaders per se; therefore, the latter should be deleted from explanations of charismatic leadership (Shamir et al. 1993: 591). Furthermore, Meindl (1995) assumes that "manipulations of contexts and constructions, rather than of leader behaviors, would, in a sense, constitute the "practice" of leadership" (Meindl 1995: 333), as "followers react to, and are more influenced by their constructions of the leader's personality than they are by the "true" personality of the leader" (Meindl 1995: 330-331).

However, it is impossible to limit such a complex phenomenon as charisma to only one or two components. One of the most popular and complete viewpoints on charisma offers to perceive it as a combination of certain leader's traits, predisposition of followers to be affected by these traits and the circumstances under which the relations between leader and followers are built. As Klein and House (1995) put it:

> [Charisma is] a fire that ignites followers' energy, commitment, and performance. Charisma resides not in a leader, nor in a follower, but in the relationship between a leader who has charismatic qualities and a follower who is open to charisma, within a charisma-conducive environment. Thus, charisma is the product of three elements: 1) a spark – a leader who has charismatic qualities, 2) flammable material – followers who are open or susceptible to charisma, and 3) oxygen – an environment conducive to charisma (Klein and House 1995: 183).

Similarly, Conger and Kanungo (1989) view charismatic leadership as an influence process consisting of three structural (the leader, the followers, and the environmental context) and three dynamic (the relationship between leader and followers, the relationship between the leader and the context, and the relationship between the followers and the context) components (Conger and Kanungo 1989: 325).

Conger and Kanungo's (1989) definition of charisma goes in line with Winter's (1987) argument that personal appeal and greatness of political leader may be forged by three different kinds of factors: (1) leader characteristics independent of the situation; (2) leader characteristics that match systematically changing situational demands; (3) leader characteristics that match characteristics of followers or of the population in general (Winter 1987: 197).

Willner (1984) argues that charisma is a relational and perceptual phenomenon, which is most effectively defined in terms of an individual's perceptions of and responses to a leader: "It (is) not what the leader is but what people see the leader as that counts in generating the charismatic relationship" (Willner 1984: 14-15). Analogously, according to Lindholm (1992), the charismatic appeal lies in the capacity of a person to display heightened emotionality and in the reciprocal capacity of the audience to imitation and corresponding sensations of altered awareness (Lindholm 1992: 290). Moreover, Lindholm (2002) states that "charisma is a relationship, a mutual mingling of the inner selves and leader and follower", which "appears only in interaction with the vast majority of others who lack it" and thus it cannot be revealed in isolation even though (it) is "thought of as something intrinsic to the individual" (Lindholm 2002: 10).

According to Willner (1984), due to the fact that societies and groups differ in their dominant definitions of extraordinary qualities, the content of leadership images, projected and perceived, differs from group to group (Conger 1989: 20). That is why Willner (1984) believes that it is impossible to construct a universal "charismatic personality". Similarly, Beyer (1999) argues that traits of charismatic leaders are more country specific than universal. Such a statement as well as other aspects of Beyer's (1999) criticism over "a new paradigm" of charismatic leadership is opposed by some other experts in the field (Bass 1999, Shamir 1999).

On the other hand, Fiol, Harris and House (1999) state that "the effects of charismatic leader behaviors are rather widely generalizable in the United States and that they may well generalize across cultures" (Fiol et al. 1999: 452). Den Hartog, House, Hanges, Ruiz-Quintanilla and Dorfman (1999) divide all the charismatic attributes into two groups: universally endorsed and culturally contingent. Thus, in universal terms charismatic leaders are supposed to be motive arousers, encouraging, communicative, trustworthy, dynamic, positive, and motivational; to have foresight and to build up followers' confidence (Den Hartog et al. 1999: 250). On the other hand, such attributes as being enthusiastic, risk-taking, ambitious, self-effacing, unique, self-

sacrificial, sincere, sensitive, compassionate and willful are culturally endorsed (Den Hartog et al. 1999: 250).

Aimed not only at discussing a universal set of charismatic attributes, but also at tracking communication consistencies in charismatic rhetoric across different cultures, the comparison study of Mahatma Gandhi's and American presidents' rhetoric (Bligh and Robinson 2010) proves that the speeches of charismatic leaders contain common features that are generalized across cultures and historical contexts. However, based on Willner's supposition that the perception of charismatic leaders may be group- and context-dependent, in our research we have decided to limit the corpus of political speeches taken for analysis to one historical period (second half of the 20th century – beginning of the 21st century) and one country (USA).

At the same time, Willner (1984) underscores the importance of individual personalities as "aspects of a leader's personality may partly determine his ability to project those images of himself that give rise to charismatic perceptions" (Willner 1984: 15). Willner (1984) identifies four factors that, aided by individual personality, appear to be catalytic in the attribution of charisma to a leader: invocation of important cultural myths by the leader, performance of what are perceived as heroic or extraordinary feats, projection or attributes "with an uncanny or a powerful aura", and outstanding rhetorical skills (Willner 1984: 61). According to Conger (1989), Willner's research was pivotal in understanding charismatic leadership, for it narrowed the focus to the leader and to the relational/perceptual dynamics with followers (Conger 1989: 21). Willner's (1984) study also proves that, though context may influence leader-followers dynamics significantly, it may not be defined as a sole critical determinant or necessary catalyst for the emergence of charismatic leadership.

Describing organizational theorists' approach to charismatic leadership, Conger (1989) argues that "charisma is believed not to reside solely in the leader and his or her personal attributes but rather in the interplay between the leader's attributes and the needs, beliefs, values, and perceptions of followers" (Conger 1989: 24). According to Katz and Kahn (1978) and House and Baetz (1979), the leader and followers must share basic beliefs and values in order to validate the leader's charisma (Conger 1989: 24). Similarly, Caprara and Zimbardo (2004) argue that "voter-politician congruency operates as the humanizing glue linking affect, cognition, and action at different stages of political transactions" (Caprara and Zimbardo 2004: 590). That is why political leaders need to learn how "to speak the "language of personality" – namely, to navigate

properly in the domain of personality attributes by identifying and conveying those individual characteristics that are most appealing at a certain time to a particular constituency" (Caprara and Zimbardo 2004: 584).

Ronald Deluga (1998) states that all the empirical research on charisma may be classified into three major approaches: transformational, behavioral, and attributional charismatic leadership.

Transformational charisma depends on the intense emotionality of the leaders, who appeal to higher order needs of followers, thus generating subordinate awareness and commitment to the organizational mission (Deluga 1998). According to Deluga (1998), transformational charismatic leadership can be conceptually arranged along four related factors:

1. Charisma or idealized influence (fostering a sense of mission among subordinates).
2. Inspiration (articulating a captivating vision of how to achieve a future idealistic state).
3. Intellectual stimulation (encouraging the development of innovative solutions to problems).
4. Individual consideration (employing a mentoring and developmental orientation with subordinates).

On the other hand, behavioral charisma depends on the relationships between leader and followers and the way leader's actual or presumed behavior impacts subordinate outcomes (Deluga 1998). Unlike transformational charisma, the behavioral approach merges the motivational (personality) bases of competent leadership with effectiveness (Deluga 1998). These motives include the charismatic leader's unusually high need for power, low needs for affiliation and achievement, and high activity inhibition (the use of power for organizational rather than personal goals) (Deluga 1998). Furthermore, Conger (1989) enumerates the following "specific behaviors associated with charismatic leaders: vision or appealing ideological goals, behavior that instills confidence and empowers, and an ability to inspire or create inspirational activities" (Conger 1989: 25). Besides, Conger (1989) claims that advocates of behavioral approach to charisma have reached partial consensus regarding certain outcomes of charismatic leadership: heightened motivation of subordinates, heightened performance of subordinates, and increased confidence in the leader (Conger 1989: 25).

As for attributional charismatic leadership approach, charisma is believed to be an attributional phenomenon founded on followers' perceptions of the leader's behavior (Deluga 1998). While followers observe and interpret leader's behavior and traits as expressions of charisma, the latter need not always be present to an identical degree in

every charismatic leader and their relative importance may vary with the situation (Deluga 1998).

In order to be perceived as charismatic, leader's behavior should include four factors (Conger 1989: 29):

> 1. A strategic vision shared by followers that is highly discrepant from the status quo yet within a latitude of acceptance.
> 2. The leader's deployment of innovative, risky, and unconventional means to achieve the desired vision.
> 3. A realistic assessment by the leader of environmental resources and constraints for bringing about the vision.
> 4. The use of articulation and impression management practices to inspire followers in pursuit of the vision.

As we may see, the notion of vision is mentioned in all the four behavioral factors associated with charismatic leadership. According to Berson, Shamir, Avolio, and Popper (2001), being defined as "a set of idealized goals established by the leader that represent a perspective shared by followers" (Conger and Kanungo 1998: 156), vision provides direction for pursuing future goals, clarifies a set of ideals, articulates a sense of purpose, and highlights the uniqueness of an organization (Berson et al. 2001: 55). Moreover, visions help leaders set "the future agenda" and convey the leader's intrinsic beliefs and values to followers (Berson et al. 2001: 55). In order to inspire the followers, visions should be optimistic, express confidence, highlight the intrinsic needs that can be met, connect to the core values of the organization and place emphasis on possible future challenges and opportunities (Berson et al. 2001: 56). Berson et al.'s (2001) empirical research proves that transformational/charismatic leadership is associated with optimistic and future-oriented vision themes. Still, in order to be successful and motivate even the most resistant followers, a leader needs to combine exciting vision with explanation of instruments necessary to achieve it (Berson et al. 2001: 67). The study also shows that the size of the organization is negatively correlated with all vision content themes, except values and intrinsic rewards (Berson et al. 2001: 61).

Shamir (1995) adds on to the discussion, claiming that the impact of vision and rhetorical skills on the attribution of charisma is especially significant when the social distance between leader and followers is large. The thing is that in a situation of large social distance followers do not have complete information about the leader's possible behavioral patterns and tend to rely more on verbal cues (Shamir 1995).

Furthermore, Yagil (1998) clarifies that there exist significant differences in perceptions of charisma in close and distant leader-followers relationships. Thus, socially close leaders display heightened confidence in the individual and perform a role of a behavioral model whereas socially distant leaders are confident in the group and gain popular support through their ideas, rather than through their model behavior. At the same time, the study proves that extraordinary qualities are equally important to attributions of charisma both in distant and close relationships.

Popper (2013) went even further in exploring the differences between distant and close leadership. The author claims that in distant leadership, to which political leadership also belongs, more attention is paid to the leader's traits than specific behaviors. At the same time, the traits themselves are not as important as perceptions of these traits by followers, since distant leadership is mainly rooted in "the psychology of the followers, namely, their projections, their patterns of construal and attributions as key processes in explaining the image of distant leaders in the eyes of the followers" (Popper 2013: 7). According to Popper (2013: 5), distant leaders operate with goals and visions which are more vague and symbolic, and this influence process is mostly realized through speeches and execution of symbolic acts.

Though vision content along with strong delivery skills and high organizational performance result in higher attributions of charisma to the leader (Amawleh and Gardner 1999), Khatri, Ng and Lee (2001) emphasize that the concepts of charisma and vision are not interchangeable: while charisma is an emotional phenomenon which is mostly based on interpersonal communication skills of a person, vision is more of an intellectual phenomenon based on a person's knowledge and experience. Moreover, Khatri et al. (2001) hypothesize that charisma and vision are independent constructs and "as such a leader may be charismatic but not visionary, or visionary but not charismatic, or both charismatic and visionary, or neither" (Khatri et al. 2001: 373). It contradicts one of Beyer's (1999) basic premises that vision "is integral to a conception of charisma that differentiates it from other forms of leadership" (Beyer 1999: 327).

Acknowledging the importance of vision in the attribution of charisma, Hunt, Boal, and Dodge (1999) distinguish two forms of charismatic leadership: visionary and crisis-responsive. Visionary charismatic leadership arises from the extraordinary gifts of the leader and his or her ability to envision an idealized future, whereas crisis-produced charisma is the result of extraordinary circumstances that cause ordinary people to assume leadership responsibilities and accrue attributions of charisma in the process

(Amawleh and Gardner 1999: 364). Interestingly, Hunt et al. (1999) provide empirical evidence that the temporal effects of crisis-responsive charismatic leadership significantly decay over time when compared to visionary charismatic leadership (Hunt et al. 1999: 441).

Discussing specific types of charismatic leadership, Conger (1999) differentiates between socialized and personalized charisma. This model was initially developed in the works of Howell and House (Howell 1988, House and Howell 1992). According to it, socialized charismatic leaders articulate visions that serve the interests of the collective, govern in an egalitarian, non self-aggrandizing manner, and actively empower and develop their followers (Conger 1999: 171). Conversely, leaders with personalized charisma are authoritarian and narcissistic, have high needs for power with their goals reflecting their own interests, at the same time demanding obedience and dependence in their followers (Conger 1999: 171). Socialized charismatic leaders are referred to as authentic transformationals, while personalized charismatics are pseudotransformational (Yammarino, Dionne, Chun and Dansereau 2005: 897). As ideal types of both personalized and socialized charisma are rather rare, most charismatic leaders have combination of the attributes of the two (Conger 1999).

It should be mentioned, though, that the majority of charisma studies (Conger and Kanungo's works as well) focus on the development of charisma in organizational settings and the role charismatic leadership plays in corporate world. The charismatic appeal of political leaders is less thoroughly researched. However, charismatic leadership in organizations and in politics bears some significant differences. For instance, Winter (2003) argues that charismatics in business have higher achievement motivation whereas political charismatic leaders score more in power motives. According to Winter (2003), achievement motivation, which is associated with entrepreneurial success, does not appear to make for success in politics, particularly if it is higher than power motivation, because it leads people to become frustrated with several inherent features of political life (Winter 2003: 122). In our research we will concentrate on the peculiarities of charismatic leadership in politics, which may be then compared to charisma in organizations.

In addition to the research on motivation of charismatic leaders, there were a few academic attempts to single out other psychological factors in leader's personality that play decisive role in the formation of charismatic appeal. According to House (1977), charismatics typically can be differentiated by their qualities of dominance, self-

confidence, a need to influence, and a strong conviction in the moral righteousness of their beliefs (Conger 1989: 30). Moreover, Bass (1989) argues that charismatic leaders generally exhibit such attributes as extraordinary emotional expressiveness, self-determination, and freedom from internal conflict (Bass 1989: 46). Conger and Kanungo (1989) claim that the distinguishing attributes of charismatic leaders include vision, emotional expressiveness, articulation skills, high activity level, and exemplary behavior (Conger and Kanungo 1989: 325).

Having used historiographic methodology, Deluga proves that narcissism (Deluga 1997) and proactivity (Deluga 1998) are positively associated with presidential charismatic leadership. Moreover, Deluga suggests that "proactive behaviors are an essential element contributing to the effectiveness of charismatic leaders" (Deluga 1998: 288).

Verčič and Verčič (2011) developed a concept of generic charisma, the basic premise of which is "the notion that every human can be described within a certain constellation of attributes that constitute the concept of charisma" (Verčič and Verčič 2011: 13). The scholars democratize the notion of charismatic leadership, claiming that every person possesses a certain degree of charisma and may reveal charismatic traits even without occupying a position of a leader. The aforementioned approach also envisages the possibility to develop charisma over time. Verčič and Verčič (2011) emphasize the multidimensionality of charisma, defining the latter as "a perceived ability of an individual to be a good communicator, inspiring and visionary, honest and reliable, attracting other people's attention and dominant in uncertain situations" (Verčič and Verčič 2011: 17).

Meantime, Beyer (1999) claims that genuine charisma is relatively rare: while "the presence of one or more of the elements of charisma may be relatively common, the coming together of all of them is not" (Beyer 1999: 323).

De Vries, Bakker-Pieper and Oostenveld (2010) extensively dwell on the relations of leaders' communication styles with leadership styles, distinguishing three types of the latter: charismatic, human-oriented and task-oriented. De Vries et al.'s (2010) research shows that communication style patterns are crucial for human-oriented and charismatic leadership to much bigger extent than for task-oriented. Charismatic leaders are characterized by an assured, supportive, argumentative, precise, and verbally non-aggressive communication style, whereas human-oriented leadership is strongly associated with the communication style supportiveness, and to a lesser extent with

leader's expressiveness and (a lack of) leader's verbal aggressiveness (de Vries et al. 2010: 376). The authors presume that leader's supportiveness is the most important communication style variable as it is the only communication style dimension that plays a significant role in all three leadership styles (de Vries et al. 2010: 377).

Communication patterns define the perceptions of charismatic leaders to a great extent because politicians manifest most of their personal attributes through communication, both verbal and non-verbal. For instance, emotional expressiveness is non-verbally revealed through "fluid, outward-directed cues, such as speaking rate and fluency; outward-directed gestural fluency and smiles; and cues of body emphasis along with contact with the body and inward gestures" (Bass 1989: 47). Talking about the effects of dynamic nonverbal cues of emotion on initial attraction, Friedman, Riggio, and Casella's (1988) study proves that individuals who are extroverted, self-confident, and emotionally expressive are judged as more "likeable" than individuals rated low on these dimensions (Weierter 1997: 178). These attributes influence "likeability" of politicians even to a greater extent than physical attractiveness of the latter (Weierter 1997: 178). At the same time there should be consistency between verbal and non-verbal messages of a speaker as in case of an apparent contradiction it is non-verbal component that is more likely to influence listeners' perceptions (Amawleh and Gardner 1999: 360).

In general, charismatic leaders tend to project a powerful, confident, dynamic presence while their tone of voice is engaging and captivating, facial expressions are animated, yet relaxed, and the eye contact is direct (Bass 1989: 47). Similarly, Weierter (1997) claims that greater vocal pleasantness (fluency and pitch variety), facial expressiveness, and kinesic relaxation (high random movement with little tension) are associated with greater perceived persuasiveness and credibility of the speaker (Weierter 1997: 178).

According to DeGroot, Aime, Johnson, and Kluemper (2011), vocal attractiveness is a relevant aspect of leader prototype and a good predictor of leader's effectiveness behaviors. Vocal attractiveness is defined as "a voice that reveals confidence and lacks tension and that results from a combination of specific vocal attributes (i.e., pitch, pitch variability, amplitude variability, pauses, and speech rate) that combine to form a voice that results in a favorable impression on others" (DeGroot et al. 2011: 681). Previous research shows that acoustic features of a leader's speech are associated with certain traits of a leader. For example, research on "pitch," defined as

how deep a voice sounds, shows a strong positive relationship to perceptions of competence, dominance, and assertiveness; "pitch variability" has been found to be positively related to dynamism; amplitude variability, defined as the variability of loudness within a person's voice, has been found to be negatively related to rating favorability as it is an important cue for negative emotions such as anger and negative voice quality perceptions such as hoarseness (DeGroot et al. 2011: 682). Finally, both speech rate (the average length of constant levels of pitch) and pauses (number of voice breaks per period) have been shown to influence perceptions of competence (DeGroot et al. 2011: 682).

Both vocal attractiveness and expressive gestures positively influence the perceptions of a leader by an audience. Talking about a leader's prototype, Lindholm (2002) cites Le Bon (1952), who argued that:

> The passive crowd instinctively follows anyone who expresses intense beliefs, since this permits the crowd to take on a form. Therefore, the leader must make use of emotionally charged theatricality, large gestures, dramatic illusions. By these mechanisms the leader demonstrates his fervor, focuses the crowd's attention, and stimulates the imitation and slavish worship of his disciples (Lindholm 2002: 49).

Verbal expressiveness of charismatic leaders is achieved with the help of various rhetoric and communicative strategies. For instance, Clark and Greatbatch (2011) hypothesize that charismatic leaders score higher than non-charismatic speakers in major rhetorical techniques, such as:

> 1. Contrasts (two juxtapositioned sentences that are opposed in words, or sense, or both).
> 2. Lists (enumeration of three or more items).
> 3. Puzzle-solution (speakers establish a puzzle in the minds of audience members before offering a statement that embodies the core message as a solution to the puzzle).
> 4. Headline-punchline (the speaker indicates that they are about to make a declaration, pledge or announcement and then proceeds to make it).
> 5. Combinations (all of the devices outlined above may be combined with one another with the result that the message will be still further emphasized (e.g., a list with a contrast)).
> 6. Position taking (a speaker first describes a state of affairs and then overtly and unequivocally praises or condemns it).
> 7. Pursuits (the speaker re-completes or re-summarizes a previous point) (Clark and Greatbatch 2011: 26).

However, according to Clark and Greatbatch's (2011) research, speakers rated as charismatic use higher proportion of the above mentioned rhetorical techniques only for focal sentences, whereas, when the speeches are taken as a whole, charismatic speakers differ from non-charismatic ones only in terms of delivery. It should be mentioned,

though, that the subject of the analysis was discourse of management gurus, whose rhetoric may be perceived quite differently than that of political leaders. Besides, when perceptions of charismatic rhetoric are studied in laboratory conditions, delivery style tends to have larger impact than content of the speeches: in artificially modeled situations speakers with strong delivery, non-visionary content and low performance create stronger perceptions of both charisma and effectiveness than leaders with weak delivery, visionary content and high organizational performance (Amawleh and Gardner 1999: 360). Amawleh and Gardner (1999) assume that "a strong delivery enables charismatic leaders to project high levels of self-confidence and optimism, which cause followers to overlook their deficiencies – including poor organizational performance that is inconsistent with their rhetoric" (Amawleh and Gardner 1999: 361). Nevertheless, the effect of strong delivery on attributions of charisma is short-term and mostly affection-based (Amawleh and Gardner 1999: 362). Stable perceptions of charismatic leader's traits and, especially, vision may be formed only in the long term on the basis of communication content and leader's overall behavior (Den Hartog and Verburg 1997, Amawleh and Gardner 1999).

Though charismatic leaders are usually extroverted and emotionally expressive, they can use their great actor skills to disguise their true emotions on public while facing failure or being personally discouraged. Such high self-esteem helps charismatic avoid defensiveness in dealing with conflicting interpersonal situations and maintain their subordinates' confidence in them (Bass 1989: 47).

What is more, charismatic leaders have a clear picture of the needs, values and hopes of their followers and are able to emphasize them through dramatic and persuasive words and actions. Charismatics can say things publicly that followers feel privately but cannot express (Yukl 1981, cited in Bass 1989: 48). Lindholm (2002) claims that "a leader will be repudiated who fails to "vibrate sympathetically" with the mood of the masses, and satisfy its desires (which are […] desires to ecstatically experience itself as a community)" (Lindholm 2002: 38). Therefore, Lindholm (2002) elaborates on the idea of charismatic group instead of a charismatic leader alone. According to Lindholm (2002), a leader just gives the group what it wants. That is why for a charismatic leader it is important to analyze the needs the group has and the beliefs it shares and then to unite the group vocalizing these beliefs.

Bass (1989) names freedom from internal conflict as one of the necessary attributes of charismatic leadership as he believes that "the ability of charismatic leaders

to “see around corners” stems from their relative freedom from the internal conflict that ordinary mortals are likely to experience between their emotions, impressions, feelings, and associations (Freud’s id) and their strong, controlling conscience (superego)” (Bass 1989: 48).

According to Conger and Kanungo (1989), followers as another critical component of charismatic leadership possess such distinguishing attributes as “1) high attachment to and trust in the leader, 2) willing obedience to the leader; 3) heightened performance and motivation, 4) greater group cohesion in terms of shared beliefs and low intragroup conflict, and 5) a sense of empowerment (Conger and Kanungo 1989: 328).

House (1977) claims that followers may be characterized by nine charismatic effects the leaders project on them. Halpert (1990) groups these effects into three dimensions: expert power (trust in the correctness of leader’s beliefs, acceptance of and obedience to the leader), referent power (similarity of beliefs, affection for the leader, identification with and emulation of the leader), and job involvement (emotional involvement, heightened goals, and perceived ability to contribute to the accomplishment of the mission) (Halpert 1990: 401-402).

As for the characteristics of the context in which charismatic leadership emerges, there seems to be a consensus that it often contains crisis situations (Conger and Kanungo 1989: 329). Under crisis conditions “followers feel a loss of control and accompanying levels of psychological stress […] and are more likely to accept a charismatic leader's interpretation of that crisis and believe in his or her ability to provide novel solutions” (Williams, Pillai, Deptula and Lowe 2012: 326). Besides, crises provide leaders with opportunities to take bold purposeful action, which is then interpreted by followers in charismatic terms and may increase their willingness to follow (Pillai and Meindl 1998: 649). At the same time, Pillai and Meindl (1998) prove that crisis first creates the potential for the emergence of charismatic leadership, but leaders need to provide its successful resolution in order to be perceived as charismatic; otherwise, prolonged crisis and stress among followers will lead to the reduced perceptions of leader’s charisma.

In terms of communication characteristics, Bligh, Kohles and Meindl’s (2004) study proves that the amount of charismatic constructs in presidential speeches increases under crisis conditions, which subsequently results in the rise of popular support of presidential actions. Davis and Gardner (2012) also support the idea that

crises are antecedents of charismatic leadership. Their study demonstrates that crisis situations, especially those directly linked to the threat to the country (e.g. 9/11 attacks) positively influenced the amount of charismatic rhetorical constructs in the speeches of George W. Bush and increased the level of his attributed charisma and popular support. However, the use of charismatic constructs in the crisis situations beyond president's power (e.g. hurricane Katrina) does not influence the charisma level significantly, reaching, as the authors put it, its ceiling.

Nevertheless, Bass (1989) agrees with Boal and Bryson (1987) who suggest that "charismatic effects can emerge not only under crisis conditions but also under noncrisis conditions as a consequence of the charismatic's vision and the articulation of that vision creating a sense of need for action by the followers" (Bass 1989: 57).

Although followers and context are important elements of charisma, their characteristics may be hardly modified in order to create charismatic leadership artificially. According to Klein and House (1995), a large number of factors that directly or indirectly influence the formation of charismatic relationships results in the fact that charisma training programs appear unlikely to produce true, group-level charisma among trainees and their subordinates. The likely outcome of charisma training is improved subordinate relations, not a raging fire of charisma (Klein and House 1995: 196). Moreover, some researchers (e.g. Lindholm 2002) continue questioning the possibility of influencing a political leader's character in order to develop his or her charismatic appeal, stating that "charisma is a part of the basic character, which cannot be learned – it exists, just as height or eye color exist" (Lindholm 2002: 10). Nevertheless, talking about so called "manufactured" charisma, the major field of work for political technologists includes the traits of politician's character, public image he or she projects and his or her rhetorical and overall self-presentation skills. The employment of professional actors (Amawleh and Gardner 1999) or even students (Hunt et al. 1999) in the laboratory studies of charisma proves that "leaders can be taught to articulate their visions and deliver them in ways that significantly increase attributions of charisma and effectiveness" (Amawleh and Gardner 1999: 365).

Conger and Kanungo (1989) believe that there are several aspects of charismatic leadership that can be trained. Those include the development of problem-finding, visioning and communication skills. Problem-finding skills envisage the ability to reconceptualize situations and redefine problems (Conger and Kanungo 1989: 314). For developing skills in visioning, Conger and Kanungo (1989) would suggest "training

leaders to think clearly into the future (or in long-range planning) in terms of specific goals and paths to those goals" and plan "realistic but unconventional ways of achieving the vision" (Conger and Kanungo 1989: 314).

The third element of charismatic leadership training – communication skills – involves a twofold approach: the first focuses on speech and articulation skills and the second on interpersonal sensitivity skills (Conger and Kanungo 1989: 315-316). Special attention should be devoted to voice coaching on intonation, pacing, and emotional content as well as on speech content. The speeches of charismatic leaders are often constructed with scenarios that highlight the shortcomings of the status quo and present, in clear, specific terms, future goals as the most attractive and attainable alternatives (Conger and Kanungo 1989: 316).

Conger and Kanungo (1989) underscore the importance of impression management techniques while training charismatic leadership:

> If a leader's charisma represents his or her idealized vision, extraordinary ability to lead, self-confidence, and unswerving commitment and perseverance, then these characteristics must be consistently reflected in the leader's physical appearance and behavior. For this to occur, leaders must develop knowledge and skills in utilizing impression management techniques. In order to present a charismatic image, they should be trained in four major areas: modeling (the use of exemplary behavior), appearance, body language, and verbal skills (with an emphasis on rhetoric (word choice), metaphors, analogies, and paralanguage (word intent)) (Conger and Kanungo 1989: 317).

According to Gardner and Avolio (1998), leaders who self-monitor their expressive behavior and use impression management to project desired self-images (e.g., esteem, power) are predisposed to constructing a charismatic image (Sosik, Avolio and Jung 2002: 220). It may be explained with the fact that "leaders who are high self-monitors may be more aware of their influence on others and able to adjust their behavior to the demands and challenges of the environmental context" (Sosik et al. 2002: 220). The scholars support Gardner and Avolio's (1998) dramaturgical model of charismatic leadership, according to which "leaders influence followers in a two-stage process in which self-image is first established and then projected to create an impression through a particular form of influence or behavior" (Sosik et al. 2002: 221).

Desired self-image may be projected through a number of impression management strategies (Gardner and Cleavenger 1998, cited in Sosik et al. 2002: 220):

1. Exemplification behaviors present oneself as a worthy role model.
2. Ingratiation behaviors make oneself more attractive or likable to others.

3. Self-promotion behaviors present oneself as highly competent regarding certain skills or abilities.
4. Intimidation behaviors present oneself as a dangerous and potent person who is able and willing to challenge others.
5. Supplication behaviors to present oneself as helpless with the purpose of soliciting aid from others.

These strategies help create a charismatic relationship between the leader and follower by influencing dispositional, perceptual, and motivational aspects of the follower/audience (Sosik et al. 2002: 221).

Sosik et al.'s (2002) study empirically tests the core aspects of dramaturgical model of charismatic leadership. It demonstrates that the complexity of managers' desired charismatic identity is positively related to self-monitoring. In its turn, self-monitoring is negatively related to pro-social impression management (associated with socialized charisma), but positively – to self-serving impression management (associated with personalized charisma). At the same time both pro-social and self-serving impression management positively influence ratings of charismatic leadership, though the contribution of pro-social behavior is much larger in this regard. Finally, charismatic leadership is positively related to managerial and unit performance.

In order to be successful in leader/follower interactions, charismatic speakers are also expected to provide a sense of empowerment to their audience. Empowering skills may be developed through such leadership practices as: 1) the expression of confidence in subordinates accompanied by high performance expectations; 2) fostering opportunities for subordinates to influence and/or participate in decision making; 3) providing autonomy from bureaucratic constraint, and 4) setting inspirational and/or meaningful goals (Conger and Kanungo 1989: 319).

Communicative component of charismatic leadership was a subject of numerous academic researches, which analyzed the language of successful political leaders. Rhetorical and overall verbal skills of a politician remain one of the key factors that establish a bond between leader and followers, form a public image of the former and maintain his or her charismatic appeal in the eyes of followers at a more or less constant level. That is why training practices aimed at developing efficient communication skills are of primary interest both for political linguists and political consultants.

According to Conger (1991), "language of leadership" can be broken into two distinct skill categories: the process of defining the purpose of the organization in a meaningful way (so called "framing" of the leader's message) and the leader's ability to

use symbolic language to give emotional power to his or her message (process of "rhetorical crafting") (Conger 1991: 31).

Conger (1991) claims that "the style of verbal communications is a critical distinguishing factor in whether the message will be remembered and endorsed" (Conger 1991: 38). The inspiring leaders use a number of rhetorical techniques (e.g. metaphors, analogy, different language styles or rhythmic devices) to ensure that the symbolic content of their message has a profound impact (Conger 1991: 38). Repetition, rhythm, balance and alliteration may be employed with the same purpose (Conger 1991: 42). It is proven that "a powerful language style, characterized by greater lexical diversity, faster speech rate, and longer turn lengths (duration of speech), is associated with perceived attractiveness, likeability, and competence of the speaker" (Weierter 1997: 179). Moreover, Conger (1991) argues that, in order to communicate with followers in powerful style, leaders should "avoid speech hesitations as "ah," "you know," and "uh;" polite phrases like "please" and "thank you;" questioning voice tones at the end of declarative statements; and hedging phrases as "I think," "I guess," "kinda"" (Conger 1991: 42). Besides, a more confident communication style encompasses avoidance of "speech errors such as incomplete sentences, long pauses between words, omitted portions of words and sentences" (Conger 1991: 42).

Describing the language of charismatic leadership, Lindholm (2002) states that "the orator must speak the condensed, evocative language of metaphor and myth that appeal to the debased consciousness of the mob" (Lindholm 2002: 50). His technique must be "to exaggerate, to affirm, to resort to repetitions, and never attempt to prove anything by reasoning" (Le Bon 1952: 51).

Willner (1984) identifies three key components of charismatic leaders' eloquence: the ability to adapt the level of language to the audience, rhetorical devices related to sound (e.g., repetition, rhythm, and alliteration), and powerful use of figurative language and imagery (Den Hartog and Verburg 1997: 363).

Analyzing the motivational effects of charismatic leadership, Shamir et al. (1993) identify the following distinguishing features of deliberate and nondeliberate messages of charismatic leaders if to compare with non-charismatic speakers:

1. More references to values and moral justifications.
2. More references to the collective and to collective identity.
3. More references to history.
4. More positive references to followers' worth and efficacy as individuals and as a collective.
5. More expressions of high expectation from followers.

6. More references to distal goals and less reference to proximal goals (Shamir et al. 1993: 586).

While Shamir et al. (1993) analyzed exclusively rhetoric of American charismatic leaders, Bligh and Robinson's (2010) research proves that some of the above mentioned concepts are used by charismatic speakers across various cultures. For instance, similarly to charismatic American presidents and social activists, speeches of Mahatma Ghandi contain more references to continuity between past and present, to moral values, and less tangible lexicon. At the same time they include higher level of self-referential terms and passive lexical units, less support for followers' worth and less similarity to followers, which is not typical for the speeches of American presidents.

Attempting to have a closer look at the communication peculiarities of charismatic speakers, Fiol et al. (1999) hypothesize that, if to compare with the speeches of non-charismatics, the language of charismatic leaders will contain more extensive use of the word "not", as well as a larger amount of inclusive lexical units (*we*, *us*, *our group*, *our organization*) and abstract notions (Fiol et al. 1999: 462-463). The above mentioned characteristics of charismatic messages may be explained with peculiarities of social psychology and their specific use is illustrated in Fiol et al.'s (1999) empirical research. Moreover, it proves that these rhetorical strategies perform certain social function and even in charismatic rhetoric the frequency of their use may vary depending on the year in the office. Thus, in the first year's speeches charismatic presidents have low scores of abstract and inclusive language and moderate scores of "nots", middle phase of presidency have peak frequencies of negation, inclusion and abstraction, while in the final year the level of all the above mentioned categories is reduced (Fiol et al. 1999: 472-473).

As the primary aim of charismatic leaders is to reject the status quo and to bring about societal changes, the former have to modify the existing social values and create a new paradigm that will grant a popular support of their ideas. It can be done into three stages: frame breaking, moving, and re-aligning (Fiol et al. 1999: 459).

During the initial phase charismatic leaders must negate the followers' personal values towards convention or innovation (Fiol et al. 1999: 462). Then they "move the neutralized values toward a less neutral position by negating both the original convention and the neutralized personal links to that convention (double negation)" (Fiol et al. 1999: 462). During the final phase, charismatic leaders must substitute a new and positive social norm for that which they have negated (frame re-aligning) (Fiol et al.

1999: 462). That is why "one would expect "nots" to be used frequently in the frame-breaking phase, more frequently in the form of double negation in the frame-moving phase, and less frequently in the final frame – re-freezing phase" (Fiol et al. 1999: 462). However, Seyranian and Bligh (2008) expand on the notion of negation stating that "it may often involve more complex language than "nots"", thus "additional operationalizations of negation rhetoric" should be incorporated into the studies of this kind (Seyranian and Bligh 2008: 56). For instance, among the others Seyranian and Bligh (2008) used "negation terms denoting negative contractions, negative function words, and null sets (e.g., *aren't*, *shouldn't*, *don't*, *nor*, *nay*, *nothing*), and semantic prefixes ("dis" or "un") […] to denote derogation of the status quo" (Seyranian and Bligh 2008: 56).

What is more, as charismatic leaders want to include non-believers within the innovative frame, they will use more associative referent terms (*we*, *us*, *our team*) and "enlarge the boundaries of their discourse by employing high levels of abstraction […] during the frame-moving phase" (Fiol et al. 1999: 463). At the same time Seyranian and Bligh (2008) hypothesize that "inclusion in the political realm may also include references to collectives (e.g., social groupings, task groups, geographical entities) and people (e.g., citizenry, population, residents)" as well as "less self-reference (e.g., *I*, *me*, *mine*, *myself*)" (Seyranian and Bligh 2008: 56). Inclusion and self-references are conceptualized as different communication strategies which are both related to social identity; inclusion makes salient and increases identification with the group, while self-references (and similarity to followers) increase prototypicality and identification with the leader (Seyranian and Bligh 2008: 66). In order to create the impression of similarity with followers, charismatic leaders may resort to rhetorical strategies that denote leveling (e.g., words used to ignore individual differences and build a sense of completeness and assurance) and familiarity (e.g., common prepositions, demonstrative pronouns) (Seyranian and Bligh 2008: 56). Through these techniques, charismatic leaders communicate that they understand followers' fears and needs and that they represent a leader that followers can relate to, trust, and identify with (Seyranian and Bligh 2008: 56). Besides, leaders who stress their similarities to followers may also appear more trustworthy, sincere, and compassionate, attributes that have been associated with charismatic appeal (Bligh and Robinson 2010: 847).

Fiol et al. (1999) cite Eisenberg (1984) who "has argued that the ambiguity associated with values at a high level of abstraction allows consensus building around

those values without necessarily achieving consensus around their meaning" (Fiol et al. 1999: 463). According to Fiol et al. (1999), inclusion explicitly invites followers to engage and embrace the leader's values, while higher levels of abstraction open the space for followers to align their personal values with those of the leader (Fiol et al. 1999: 463).

Moreover, Seyranian and Bligh (2008) state that "leaders should employ vivid imagery and metaphor in their communications and less conceptual language" in order to boost their charismatic appeal (Seyranian and Bligh 2008: 69). This recommendation is based on the belief that "imagery and metaphor are inspirational: they evoke mental images, sensory experiences, and emotional reactions that encourage followers to adopt the leader's vision" (Seyranian and Bligh 2008: 69). The statement is also supported with the empirical research of Mio, Riggio, Levin, and Reese (2005) about a more extensive use of metaphors in the speeches of charismatic leaders than of non-charismatic ones and with Emrich, Brower, Feldman and Garland's (2001) conclusion that "presidential leaders who used more image-producing language versus conceptual-based in their speeches received higher ratings of charisma" (Seyranian and Bligh 2008: 57). Moreover, Naidoo and Lord (2008) justified that increasing imagery in speeches increases the listeners' perceptions of charisma, thus proving that there exists cause-and-effect relation between the two (Naidoo and Lord 2008: 290). However, the scholars acknowledge that "the quality or appropriateness of the imagery may be a more important factor than the quantity", so "there needs to be some congruence between the imagery content, the context in which the speech occurs, and the leader's vision" (Naidoo and Lord 2008: 292).

As well, Seyranian and Bligh (2009) propose that charismatic leaders tend to use more word units denoting high levels of action (e.g., aggressive words such as human competition, goal directness, and accomplishment words expressing task-completion and organized human behavior) than non-charismatic speakers (Seyranian and Bligh 2008: 58). However, the empirical study of American presidents' speeches (Seyranian and Bligh 2008) showed that there are no significant differences between charismatic and non-charismatic leaders in this category of analysis.

Rosenberg and Hirschberg (2009) currently offer one of the most exhaustive studies of how different variables influence perceptions of charisma both from speech and text. Having considered the effects of modality (speech or transcript), genre (stump speech, interview, press conference or campaign ad), the level of acquaintance of

interviewees with the speakers, the researchers try to incorporate all the factors that may influence the perceptions of charisma. Rosenberg and Hirschberg's (2009) research is based on the premise that charismatic speakers share certain acoustic and prosodic characteristics, which interact with lexical content and syntactic form (Rosenberg and Hirschberg 2009: 640). Their findings show that, in terms of acoustic-prosodic features, charismatics are characterized with a faster speaking style, speech that occurred higher in the pitch range, and varied with respect to pitch and amplitude – the features that infer dynamism, enthusiasm and confidence in what a person is talking about (Rosenberg and Hirschberg 2009: 653). As for the lexico-semantic features, the scholars study "the number of words in the token, the ratio of function to content words in the token, the number of repeated words, a measure of lexical complexity due to Dowis (2000), the token's pronoun "density", and the ratio of disfluencies to number of words in the token" (Rosenberg and Hirschberg 2009: 645). Rosenberg and Hirschberg (2009) prove that "tokens that were heard to be charismatic, were also judged charismatic when read", which, in its turn, "suggests a substantial influence of the lexical, syntactic, semantic and/or pragmatic content of speech on the communication of charisma" (Rosenberg and Hirschberg 2009: 653). For instance, the disfluencies negatively effected the perceptions of charisma both in speech and text. As well, greater ratio of function to content words positively influenced perceptions of charisma in both modalities. On the other hand, there are significant differences in the perception of charisma in text and speech. For example, the length of speech tokens was positively correlated with charisma judgments in speech, but not with those in text, which may be explained with an observation that it takes more time to hear long words than to read them. Also, the use of personal pronouns was positively correlated with charisma judgments from speech, but negatively correlated from text, suggesting that certain types of language may be deemed more appropriate in different modalities (Rosenberg and Hirschberg 2009: 653).

Another characteristic of charismatic leaders' speeches is their emotional expressiveness. A meta-analysis of the Big Five personality traits (Bono and Judge 2004) revealed that extraversion was positively linked to charisma (Bono and Ilies 2006: 320). What is more, Bono and Ilies (2006) propose that charismatic leaders will express more positive emotions, though they acknowledge that "even the most positive or charismatic leaders may use negative emotions (e.g., anger towards outgroup members) to energize followers, especially during times of threat" (Bono and Ilies

2006: 320). To denote the phenomenon, the researchers use the notion of "mood contagion", defining it as "a process by which the emotions expressed by one individual are "caught" by another" (Bono and Ilies 2006: 320). Friedman and Riggio (1981) found that extraverts and charismatic individuals are more likely to be able to infect others with their emotions, presumably because they are more engaging and tend to be more emotionally expressive (Bono and Ilies 2006: 320). The ability of being a powerful sender of emotions is "a characteristic of individuals who score high on the personality trait of Openness to Experience, which has also been associated with charisma" (Judge and Bono 2000, cited in Bono and Ilies 2006: 320). Therefore, speeches of charismatic leaders will abundantly contain emotionally charged language with a focus on positive emotions, which in its turn will directly influence followers' mood.

Developing Bono and Ilies' (2006) ideas, Damen, van Knippenberg and van Knippenberg (2008) state that leader displays of high arousal positive affect (enthusiasm) will lead to higher attributions of charisma than will leader displays of low arousal positive affect (relaxation) or both high and low arousal negative affect (anger and sadness) (Damen et al. 2008: 2598-2599).

On the other hand, Meindl (1995) disputes that "various individual and situational factors combine to produce a level of psycho-physiological arousal in followers" (Meindl 1995: 335), thus diminishing the role of the leader's personality and behavior in this regard. Trying to advance his radical follower-centered perspective on charismatic leadership, Meindl (1995) argues that "one can refer to the origins of arousal as "state-based" (induced externally, perhaps by certain situational events) or as "trait-based" (emanating from the personality of the follower)" (Meindl 1995: 335).

Nevertheless, talking about the components of charismatic leadership and communication and impression management strategies charismatic leaders may use, it is worth mentioning Yukl's (1999) remark on the limitations any kind of leadership research faces:

> How often a particular category of behavior is used is less important than whether it is used in a skilful manner at an appropriate time in the sequence of events. Moreover, the effectiveness of any individual behavior depends in part on the overall pattern of leadership behavior (Yukl 1999: 44).

To conclude, Oxford dictionary defines charisma as "a compelling attractiveness or charm that can inspire devotion in others". Though in the past charisma was perceived as an inborn ability or gift, scholarly research in the field proves that the concept may be rationalized and, to some extent, even trained. According to Conger and Kanungo (1987), charismatic leadership, like any other form of leadership, should be considered to be an observable behavioral process that can be described and analyzed in terms of a formal model (Conger and Kanungo 1987: 639). Up to date the most complete model of charismatic leadership encompasses leader who has charismatic traits, followers who are susceptible to charisma and charisma-conducive environment. As previous studies show, impression management techniques play an important role in the formation of charismatic leader appeal. What is more, they prove that the discourse of charismatic leadership bears some common features regardless of the party affiliation or individuality of a political leader. Therefore, our task in the next chapter is to provide a detailed analysis of common characteristics in the speeches of political leaders, thus trying to discover how personality traits, associated with charismatic appeal, are revealed in communication style of the politicians.

1.4. Political discourse in study of charismatic leadership: personal perspective

Political linguistics appeared in the second half of the 20th century due to need to provide linguistic perspective on ongoing political processes and to study the role proper use of language plays in political life. Scrupulous analysis of linguistic tools available in politicians' arsenal would enable, on the one hand, deliberate development of communication style, which is more efficient at exerting influence on target audience, and, on the other, elaboration of means to identify such manipulation attempts and effectively counteract them.

Political linguistics is largely focused on study of political discourse, which can be defined as a complex of discourse practices between participants of political processes in particular social environment, dealing with certain topic of societal importance and aimed at reaching specific communication aims.

The definition of political discourse may be more clearly explained if to break the notion into separate compounds, having provided answers to the following questions. What is political discourse per se? It is an exchange of utterances united by some topic of political importance and expressed within specific political context. Who

produces political discourse? In our research we advocate a broader approach to defining political discourse, according to which it encompasses not only public statements of politicians in institutional settings, but also opinions of general public as regards certain political issues, for instance, ideas expressed by journalists in their articles or discussion of political news by commoners. When and where does political discourse take place? Political discourse should be viewed separately from political text; it is a piece of communication placed within specific context, which should be examined with consideration of external factors, when both the context defines the role discourse will play and the discourse influences the context. Why is political discourse produced? Political communication may fulfill a number of functions, but persuasive one is probably the most important. Political speakers employ various communication and argumentation strategies to express their views, to explain target audience the reasons why they champion their political beliefs and convince the audience that their political ideas are expedient in current political situation in the country.

Political speeches, which are a focus of our current study, represent a specific genre within political discourse. They are usually devoted to a particular topic, have an air of completeness and are aimed at a large, yet clearly defined audience. Theme, time constraints, type of audience, venue where the speech is delivered and means through which political messages are transmitted (with mass-media or without) – all of these components influence both content and form of the speech as well as the effect the latter will produce. That is why it is important to take all these factors into consideration while analyzing political speeches.

Complexity of political speech nature requires combination of various approaches – both linguistic and extra-linguistic – while studying it. A political discourse analyst should not only pay attention to selection of linguistic means, but also be fully aware of relations between speaker and the audience, political situation at the moment of speech delivery and the political consequences of the speech. Thus, political discourse analysis should be largely interdisciplinary.

In our study we are to apply theoretical findings from three distinct research areas: linguistics, political science and psychology – which may seem to be almost incompatible, yet they ensure examination of political speeches from different perspectives, and, as a result, a more complete and well-balanced consideration of political speeches' content, form and sociopolitical influence as well as political leaders' psychological characteristics.

However, our aim is not to conduct three different types of analysis and then compare the results obtained – it goes without saying that they will be incomparable, since they represent different areas of science. Our deliberate aim is to interweave these theoretical frameworks into one and present a synthesized perspective on peculiar features of charismatic rhetoric, on the way psychological characteristics of political leader influence choice of linguistic means in their speeches, and how analysis of these means may be used to decode personality profiles of politicians. Moreover, consideration of context in which a particular speech was delivered enables us to analyze how external factors influence politicians' communication and whether their psychological and associated communication patterns are stable across various discourse settings.

Thus, since in our research we predominantly focus on psychological characteristics of political leaders, the basic method we employ is psychological analysis, developed by Walter Weintraub. It is this method that enables us to make conclusions on specific traits of politician's character, based on average scores of particular linguistic categories in his speeches. At the same time, category quantification principles, used in this method, are taken from quantitative content analysis, which is widely used in social sciences and humanities. Overlapping is so obvious that psychological analysis is sometimes referred to as psychological content analysis. Yet, in previous literature review sections we consider it important to describe establishment and specific features of content analysis as well, in order to trace the origins of method evolution. Content analysis and psychological method of analysis provide us with an opportunity to obtain concrete "tangible" figures, i.e. average category scores, which makes comparison of political leaders' communication more objective and mitigates the influence of researcher's bias, inherent to qualitative methods. At the same time, employment of qualitative method would enlarge space for results interpretation, when we are able not only to say that one president uses a particular category less frequently than another, but we also may explain why average scores fluctuate, depending on the speech type, audience characteristics and venue of speech delivery. In our research CDA serves a role of such qualitative counterpart for psychological content analysis. Though in our research quantitative and qualitative approaches are fused in the way when it is impossible to draw clear boundaries between both methods, it allows us to consider various aspects of political discourse, while analyzing speeches of American presidents.

Taking into consideration that our research is focused on charisma in political leadership, psychological content analysis seems to be an efficient methodological tool also due to the fact that it studies psychological characteristics of political speakers – and charismatic appeal in our perception is largely a psychological phenomenon – based on verbal behavior of the politicians. Though well-developed communication skills are not the sole determinant of charismatic appeal and the history knows the cases when the leaders widely recognized as charismatic were not actually exceptionally good at rhetoric, skillful use of linguistic component in communication with followers considerably facilitates construction of charismatic relationships.

So what is charisma indeed? In our research we support the viewpoint that charisma is power relationship in which a leader with exceptional qualities and skills influences the followers who, intrinsically, are in pursuit of a strong character to follow, within a charisma-conducive environment.

Balanced combination of all the three components is quite rare; yet when it occurs, it gives rise to a genuine charismatic leadership. A more common case is when two components compensate the deficiency of the third one. For instance, a strong leader develops a clear vision of changes in the country; he unites the loyal followers around this vision and the increase of their numbers or quality leads to changes in environment, when the elections bring this leader to power. Another illustration would be when unstable political situation in the country and a large percentage of lay people seeking for changes produce a leader who does not have either vision or exceptional leadership skills. Similar situation took place in Ukraine in 2004 when a lot of people experienced disillusionment about Viktor Yushchenko shortly after they elected him as a President in the wake of the Orange revolution. This is a good example of crisis-responsive charismatic leadership, as defined by Amawleh and Gardner (1999), when ordinary people are attributed with perceptions of charisma when performing the role of a leader under extraordinary circumstances.

If to follow Klein and House's (1995) metaphor, charismatic appeal of a leader should be a spark that ignites a true fire of charisma. However, we do not perceive charismatic appeal as a single psychological characteristic, but rather as an array of specific personality traits, which results in extraordinary personal magnetism and likeability. Charismatic leaders are motivational and encouraging; they instill confidence in their followers and inspire them to unite around a common set of goals and means to achieve them, that being a vision. Charismatic speakers clearly

communicate their ideas to the audience; they are trustworthy and dynamic. Emotional expressiveness and ability to forge a sense of group affiliation are other psychological characteristics we deem important in attributions of charisma. The above mentioned qualities are cherished in charismatic personalities across various political cultures.

At the same time, we are aware that there exist considerable differences in perceptions of charismatic leadership across the globe, so it would be premature to extrapolate our findings based on American presidential discourse to other political cultures. Charismatic leadership plays prominent, yet a very specific role in Western political culture, especially in American one, which is explained with long-lasting democratic tradition and advantages rhetorical eloquence may bring while doing politics in democratic society. Therefore, in our research we do not attempt to develop a universal formula of charisma, but rather to see what is meant to be a charismatic politician in the USA and what psychological features are common for different charismatic presidents, who belong to the same political culture and more or less the same historical period.

Meanwhile, we also should bear in mind a distinction between politicians' self-reports of personality traits and their observed behavior. Being public figures, political leaders construct their public image through communication, when peculiar features of character are given a special emphasis and projected at a magnified scale to potential followers. It is this publicly observed identity that usually comes to the forefront in decision-making process and developing relationships with followers. That is why study of political speeches may provide an insight into politicians' psychological characteristics, at least publicly observed ones.

At the same time we agree that the context may influence manifestation of different psychological attributes in charismatic leadership. Though some personality traits are inherent and stable, charismatic leaders often demonstrate a considerable deal of flexibility while responding to the external circumstances. That is the point in our research when recommendations from CDA on a more thorough consideration of context become useful.

It is important for charismatic leaders to properly address the values and needs of their followers, and to be congruent with the image the followers have in mind while thinking of these charismatic leaders. As for the followers themselves, in charismatic relationship they should trust the leader, sincerely believe in the ideas expressed and share a sense of moral attachment to the leader. The feeling that they are a part of a

bigger group with common goals, yet their individual input is critical for better group results will empower them to reach the outcomes beyond their regular performance. To a certain degree, this mechanism explains why charismatic leadership is usually associated with success and extraordinary results. Followers seek for motivation and ideas to follow and genuine charismatic leaders should be able to fill this void.

Proper context is the third component which is important for emergence of charismatic leadership. As a rule, charismatic leaders have more opportunities to reveal their abilities and skills during revolutionary events or in the times when the country faces some historical challenges, should it be a war, an economic crisis or growing discontent of population with status quo in protection of human rights. At the same time we agree with Pillai and Meindl (1998) that crisis conditions are important at the initial stages of establishing charismatic relationship. If a charismatic leader is unable to bring about positive changes and provide novel solutions for a long time, prolonged crisis will lead to deterioration of leader perceptions by followers and decay of charismatic leadership.

In our current research we also agree with Verčič and Verčič (2011) that every person has a certain degree of charismatic qualities and that the latter may be developed over the time. For instance, a person may be trustworthy or just be good at inspiring people s/he communicates with. However, it is a combination of several different charismatic qualities in their extreme manifestations which match characteristics of followers and context that makes a true charismatic leader.

As we may see, charismatic leadership has many dimensions, yet in our research we have decided to focus on its communication aspect only. Nevertheless, good communication skills may hardly be overestimated since charismatic leaders construct their public image mostly through communication, political messages are delivered to their followers also through communication as well as it is efficient communication that is used by the leader to build up confidence, trust and motivation in the followers – some of the major components needed for emergence of charismatic leadership. Besides, political communication provides the tangible ground an empirical research may be based on. Finally, if there are any possibilities to boost charismatic appeal through training, communication of a leader must be one of the areas which are the most susceptible for manipulations. Therefore, in the following chapters we will focus on political discourse of American charismatic leaders, we will try to decipher linguistic component of charismatic appeal as well as to track how the use of particular linguistic

categories is linked to perceptions of specific personality attributes in charismatic leadership.

2. Methods, methodology and construction of corpus

2.1. Formulation of research questions

Communication is not simply a literal exchange of information between two or more speakers. While content of what a person says is of great importance, the way one presents the information, both verbally and non-verbally, is not of less significance. Moreover, literal message usually represents only what a speaker wants other people to hear, whereas the way one speaks may reveal hidden messages of a more complex nature, namely what a speaker actually thinks of a topic or even what specific personality traits one has.

Walter Weintraub, an MD in psychiatry who analyzed verbal behavior of his patients, developed a distinct methodology, which allows researchers to associate specific speech patterns with certain personality traits. Psychological analysis, introduced by Walter Weintraub, "rests upon three assumptions: 1) patterns of thinking and behaving are reflected in styles of speaking; 2) under stress, a speaker's choice of grammatical structures will mirror characteristic coping mechanisms; and 3) personality traits are revealed by grammatical structures having a slow rate of change" (Weintraub 2003: 139). Though originally aimed at studying speech patterns of people with psychological disorders, the method was successfully applied while analyzing verbal behavior in everyday life as well as in political discourse. Taking into account that the language of politics heavily relies on manipulation and what a politician says is not necessarily the same as what he or she thinks, the possibility to create a genuine psychological portrait of a politician through conducting psychological analysis of his or her speeches offers a new insight into the world of political decision-making.

We believe that political communication should be treated as a reciprocal process. While politicians subconsciously reveal their personality traits through specific usage of personal pronouns, negatives, qualifiers and other psychological analysis categories, their audience may also subconsciously perceive these traits, even without having extensive knowledge of psychology or discourse studies. Obviously, we do not presume that the audience may draw a direct correlation between elementary linguistic units and the personality traits, but either a positive or negative attitude of the audience

towards a politician, to a great extent, is formed by the way s/he presents his or her messages.

Due to the fact that the primary focus of our research is charisma and charisma is believed to be an interplay between certain leader traits, characteristics of followers and specific context in which the relation between leader and followers are built, psychological analysis of charismatic leaders' speeches will allow us to conduct a deeper examination of mechanisms which charismatic speakers use to exert influence on their followers.

In general, our major hypothesis may be formulated as follows:

The political speeches of charismatic leaders belonging to one political culture and one historical period are characterized by certain common linguistic features, the analysis of which may be used to draw conclusions about the politician's personality.

Taking into account that the hypothesis is rather general, it needs further clarification and may be divided into a set of propositions, which deal with each category of psychological analysis.

In psychological analysis, among the other categories, Walter Weintraub focuses a significant portion of attention on the use of personal pronouns *I* and *we* and its ratio. Since the beliefs of a charismatic leader should resonate with the beliefs and needs of his or her followers, careful and rational use of inclusive and self-referential units provides an efficient instrument for either enhancing the bonds between leader and followers or alienating leader from an undesired group or phenomenon. The studies of Fiol et al. (1999) and Seyranian and Bligh (2008) prove that charismatic leaders tend to use more associative referent terms (*we*, *us*, *our*, *ours*, *ourselves*) than non-charismatic speakers. On the other hand, charismatic leaders would use less self-referential terms (*I*, *me*, *my*, *mine, myself*) than non-charismatic politicians.

With regard to the use of personal pronouns, we develop the following propositions:

Proposition 1: *The speeches of charismatic presidents will include equally high frequencies of personal pronoun* ***we*** *and its forms, which is an attempt to associate oneself with the followers and unite them around one's vision.*

Proposition 2: *The speeches of charismatic presidents will include equally low frequencies of personal pronoun* ***I*** *and its forms, which may be interpreted as a non-desire to look self-centered in the eyes of the public.*

Seyranian and Bligh (2008) propose that charismatic leaders would use higher levels of action and avoid verbal manifestations of passivity. Though Seyranian and Bligh's (2008) study shows that there are no significant differences between charismatic and non-charismatic leaders in this category of analysis (aggressive and accomplishment words versus passivity and ambivalence), we presume that proactivity of a politician, which is "significantly and positively related to presidential performance and charismatic leadership" (Deluga 1998: 288), may be manifested in a specific usage of pronouns *me* and *us*, namely

Proposition 3: *The speeches of charismatic presidents will include equally low frequencies of pronouns* ***me*** *(****us****), which is evidence of the absence of passive tendencies in the character of a charismatic leader.*

Fiol et al. (1999) and Seyranian and Bligh (2008) also extensively dwell on the use of another category of psychological analysis – negatives – by charismatic politicians. Fiol et al. (1999) prove that charismatic leaders use "nots" more often than non-charismatic leaders as the former are interested in changing status quo and negation is extensively employed in the processes of frame breaking and frame moving. Having expanded the category of negatives with "negative contractions, negative function words, and null sets (e.g., *aren't*, *shouldn't*, *don't*, *nor*, *nay*, *nothing*), and semantic prefixes ("dis" or "un")" (Seyranian and Bligh 2008: 56), Seyranian and Bligh have come up with similar to Fiol et al.'s (1999) results. On the other hand, Weintraub interprets a large amount of negatives in the political speeches as an evidence of oppositional tendencies in a character of a politician. In an attempt to expand previous studies on negation rhetoric we propose:

Proposition 4: *The speeches of charismatic presidents will include equally high frequencies of negatives, which may be interpreted as an indicator of oppositional tendencies in a character of a politician and of his persistence.*

Another category of psychological analysis – adverbial intensifiers – includes all the adverbs that make statements sound stronger. Among the most commonly used adverbial intensifiers Weintraub identifies the following: *very*, *really*, *so*, and *such* (Weintraub 2003: 146). The researcher claims that "adverbial intensifiers add color to a speaker's remarks" and "when used frequently, they produce a dramatic, histrionic effect" (Weintraub 2003: 146). However, speakers who use very few adverbial intensifiers are perceived by listeners as dull and bland (Weintraub 2003: 146). Thus, we assume that charismatic leaders must balance the amount of adverbial intensifiers in

their speeches in the way that is sufficient for emotional expressiveness of the speech, but does not demonstrate extreme levels of anxiety. Thus,

Proposition 5: *The speeches of charismatic presidents will include equally moderate frequencies of adverbial intensifiers.*

Yet another category associated with emotional expressiveness is the frequency of expressions of feelings. Weintraub offers to score not all the linguistic units somehow associated with feelings (as it is done by sentiment analysts), but only the "clauses in which the speaker attributes feelings to himself or herself" (Weintraub 2003: 145). As "low expressions of feeling scores reflect an aloof, cool verbal style" (Weintraub 2003: 145) and high scores reveal anxiety, we suppose that charismatic leaders should strike a balance in the usage of expressions of feelings, so

Proposition 6: *The speeches of charismatic presidents will include equally moderate frequencies of expressions of feelings.*

At the same time anxiety significantly increases average frequencies of qualifiers, whereas in prepared speeches politicians tend to use this category less frequently (Weintraub 2003: 143-144). Qualifiers serve as fillers, words and phrases that are used when speakers are searching their memories for more informative words (Weintraub 2003: 144). According to Weintraub, the category of qualifiers includes expressions of uncertainty ("*I think* I'll go to the ball game today"); modifiers that weaken statements without adding information ("That old house is *kind of* spooky"); and phrases that contribute a sense of vagueness or looseness to a statement ("Then we enjoyed *what you might call* an evening of relaxation") (Weintraub 2003: 143). Taking into account that high scores of qualifiers "indicate a lack of decisiveness or an avoidance of commitment" (Weintraub 2003: 143) and "decisiveness is discussed as an important trait for leaders to possess and has been theoretically associated with assertiveness" (Williams, Pillai, Lowe, Jung and Herst 2009: 74), we assume that

Proposition 7: *The speeches of charismatic presidents will include equally low frequencies of qualifiers.*

The conclusions about a politician's ability to reconsider his or her own decisions may be drawn on the basis of retractors scores in the speeches. According to Weintraub, retractors, also referred to as adversative expressions, are used to "weaken or reverse previously spoken remarks" (Weintraub 2003: 144). Weintraub (2003) argues that "the frequent use of retractors suggests a difficulty in adhering to previously made decisions and imparts a flavor of impulsivity to the speaker's style" (Weintraub 2003:

144). Moreover, the frequent use of connectives (explainers, retractors and qualifiers) may be interpreted as an indicator of domineering verbal style (Weintraub 2003: 151). Conversely, the moderate use of retractors is associated with "the ability to reconsider a decision after it has been made" (Weintraub 2003: 148). We presume that the speeches of charismatic leaders should be characterized by moderate frequencies of retractors as a charismatic politician is not expected to reveal high levels of impulsivity. At the same time rational use of retractors provides opportunity for maneuvering, that is to say – reconsideration of decisions if it is necessary. Therefore, we hypothesize that

Proposition 8: *The speeches of charismatic presidents will include equally moderate frequencies of retractors.*

In contrast to retractors, Weintraub (2003) defines explainers as "words and expressions that suggest causal connections or justification of the speaker's thoughts and actions" (Weintraub 2003: 145). High explainers score indicates "a didactic, apologetic, or rationalizing verbal style", whereas speakers who use few explainers tend to be perceived as "categorical and dogmatic" (Weintraub 2003: 145). Taking into account that, according to Le Bon (1952), communication of a charismatic leader should be based on emotional expressiveness rather than on rationalizing style and he or she should "never attempt to prove anything by reasoning" (Le Bon 1952: 51), we may presume that:

Proposition 9: *The speeches of charismatic presidents will include equally low scores of explainers.*

Weintraub also singles out the category of creative and colorful expressions, which encompasses "all occurrences of wit, metaphor, and idiosyncratic use of language" (Weintraub 2003: 147). Taking into account that in stylistics there is a detailed classification of expressive means and stylistic devices, Weintraub's approach to creative expressions is rather simplified. According to Weintraub (2003), the major assumption that may be drawn on the basis of specific use of creative expressions is the degree to which politician's thinking may be evaluated as original and creative. In our research we treat expressive means more broadly, trying to evaluate expressive means in general as well as the productivity of certain stylistic devices, such as enumeration, metaphor, parallel constructions and antithesis, in political communication. We suppose that charismatic leaders will resort to various stylistic devices more frequently than non-charismatic leaders as these expressive means will make their communication more memorable, evoke more images in followers' minds and formulate the vision in more

understandable terms. At the same time, some stylistic devices (enumeration, antithesis, metaphors) will be more effective in performing the above mentioned functions than the others (alliteration, epithets). That is why it is likely that charismatic speakers will develop their own patterns of expressive means usage in which more efficient stylistic devices will be given preference in comparison with less efficient ones. Hence, we hypothesize that

Proposition 10: *The speeches of charismatic presidents will have similarly high scores of expressive stylistic devices*.

Proposition 11: *The patterns of stylistic devices usage will have common features for different charismatic presidents.*

Though rhetorical questions also belong to stylistic devices, Walter Weintraub identifies them as a separate category of psychological content analysis. In unprepared speeches Weintraub treats high scores of rhetorical questions as an indicator of angry disposition (Shaw 2003: 356). At the same time we acknowledge that rhetorical questions may be used by political leader to involve audience into communication. However, the abuse of rhetorical questions by a speaker will be counterproductive as it will make the speech too emphatic as well as it will imply that a leader tends to pose questions rather than to provide solutions. Thus, we presume that

Proposition 12: *The speeches of charismatic U.S. presidents will include equally low scores of rhetorical questions*.

In general, the analysis of all the aforementioned propositions is aimed at finding commonalities in the political speeches of charismatic presidents and explaining the linkage between these commonalities and psychological characteristics of politicians.

2.2. Sample

The sample of our current study includes 18 political speeches of three most charismatic American presidents in the modern U.S. history (second half of the 20th century – beginning of the 21st century), namely John F. Kennedy, Ronald Reagan and Barack Obama, and 6 political speeches of the least charismatic American president of the period – Gerald R. Ford. The choice of such a chronological framework can be justified with several reasons.

First of all, according to Seyranian and Bligh, the modern presidency may be briefly characterized by historical changes such as increased media exposure and public

scrutiny, the beginning of oral traditions, more frequent speeches, and changes in presidential motives and qualifications (Seyranian and Bligh 2008: 61). Thus, many scholars suggest modern presidency in the USA to have begun with Franklin D. Roosevelt (Seyranian and Bligh 2008: 61).

However, our current research will not include the speeches of Franklin D. Roosevelt due to several reasons. Firstly, this politician belongs to the first half of the 20th century. Moreover, his presidency is an exceptional case in American history as he was the only American president elected for more than two terms and who successfully managed the country through the times of the Great Depression and WWII. The latter fact makes it practically impossible to compare his leadership and rhetoric style with the one of any other American president as it is proven that effective leadership in the times of crisis significantly reinforces perceptions of the leader's charisma (see Bligh et al. 2004; Williams et al. 2009; Williams et al. 2012).

Secondly, we have decided to limit the chronological framework to 50 years as we believe that the development of both language and political communication techniques have always been extremely dynamic, making it difficult to generalize similarities in political discourse over a large time span.

The selection of presidents is based on the previous studies on charismatic leadership. First of all, Fiol et al. (1999) conducted a study in which eight reputable political historians were asked to identify all 20th century American presidents through Ronald Reagan as charismatic, non-charismatic, neither charismatic nor non-charismatic, or uncertain, based on their relationships with cabinet members. The charismatic leadership was defined by the effects the leader had on his followers: whether the followers had a high degree of loyalty, identified with the leader, emulated his values and goals, saw him as a source of inspiration, derived a sense of high self-esteem from their relationship and had an exceptionally high degree of trust in the leader (Fiol et al. 1999: 466). Thus, Theodore Roosevelt, Franklin Roosevelt, John F. Kennedy, and Ronald Reagan were identified as the most charismatic 20th century American presidents.

Seyranian and Bligh (2008) extended Fiol et al.'s (1999) study, having included 17 presidents beginning with Theodore Roosevelt (1901) through George W. Bush (2000). Ten reputable political scientists were asked to provide generalized ratings of presidential charisma in two ways: as a dichotomous measure (to categorize a president as charismatic or non-charismatic), and as a continuous measure (to rate him on a scale

from 1 (not charismatic at all) to 7 (extremely charismatic)). The inter-rater reliability index was high: 0.93 – for the dichotomous measure and 0.94 – for the continuous one (Seyranian and Bligh 2008: 60). According to this study, presidents that scored highest in charisma (who were in the top 75% quartile of ratings across presidents, or above 4.63) included Theodore Roosevelt (M=6.30), Franklin Roosevelt (M=6.10), John F. Kennedy (M=5.60), and Ronald Reagan (M=5.50), while the remainder of the presidents [except for Bill Clinton with M=4.90] received lower charisma ratings (Seyranian and Bligh 2008: 60).

Since Barack Obama is an incumbent American president, the evaluation of his charisma by political historians faces certain difficulties. To our knowledge, the only assessment of presidential charisma of Barack Obama is provided in Williams et al.'s (2012) study. At the final stage of Williams et al.'s (2012) research the scholars asked 414 undergraduate and graduate students from four American universities to rate Barack Obama's attributed charisma, employing eight items from the Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire. This approach is primarily associated with assessing the leader's influence on followers through emotional attachment and identification with the vision. For each charismatic item a seven-point scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree) was employed. With reliability coefficient of 0.93, the aggregated data evaluated Barack Obama's attributed charisma at the level of 5.14.

Based on the aforementioned data, we may conclude that personalities of John F. Kennedy, Ronald Reagan and Barack Obama form a specific cluster in terms of perceptions of charisma (with mean indices of 5.60, 5.50 and 5.14 respectively), which, coupled with their belonging to the same historical period, increases the validity of general assumptions that may be drawn while analyzing the specific features of their verbal communication styles.

As for the least charismatic American president over the period of the last 50 years, Seyranian and Bligh (2008) measure the level of Gerald Ford's charisma as the lowest one with a mean index of M=2.20.

Moreover, the selection of political speeches for analysis is not random either (a detailed description of speeches in the sample is provided in Appendix I, p. 185-186). Both Ronald Reagan and John F. Kennedy had six speeches included into the index of the 100 most significant American political speeches of the 20th century (Lucas and Medhurst 2009). These speeches are of different genres (inaugural speeches, commencement addresses, candidate speeches), represent different types of audiences

(some were delivered in the USA while others – during presidential trips abroad) and are taken from various time periods of the presidencies (a speech delivered before being elected as president, first inaugural, speeches from different years in office). This multidimensionality allows us not only to trace overall consistencies in the political discourse of the American presidents, but also to analyze how different types of speeches, audiences and contextual variables influence the psycholinguistic content of political speeches.

John F. Kennedy's speeches include "Inaugural Address", "Houston Ministerial Association Speech", "Ich bin ein Berliner", "American University Commencement Address", "Civil Rights Address", and "Cuban Missile Crisis Address". Ronald Reagan's speeches include "First Inaugural Address", "Shuttle "Challenger" Disaster Address", "A Time for Choosing", "The Evil Empire", "40th Anniversary of D-Day Address", and "Brandenburg Gate Address". Due to the fact that, to our knowledge, there are no comparison studies of different speeches of Barack Obama with regard to their "greatness", we have selected six speeches of the incumbent American president on the basis of two criteria: 1) they should be well known and represent major landmarks in his presidential career; 2) the types of audiences, speeches and context variables should match the ones of John F. Kennedy and Ronald Reagan. Thus, the following speeches by Barack Obama were taken for analysis: "First Inaugural Address", "A More Perfect Union", "President-Elect Victory Speech", "A New Beginning", "Commencement Address at the University of Notre Dame", and "Nobel Prize for Peace Acceptance Speech".

However, while many studies focus on the analysis of the political speeches of charismatic leaders, the selection of the speeches of non-charismatic politicians may be rather a challenging task. We have decided to choose the speeches of Gerald R. Ford on the basis of the aforementioned criteria already employed for selecting Obama's speeches. Thus, Gerald R. Ford's sample includes "Remarks on Taking the Oath of Office as President", "Remarks in Kansas City Upon Accepting the 1976 Republican Presidential Nomination", "Commencement Address at Chicago State University", "The 1975 State of the Union Address", "Remarks Announcing a Program for the Return of Vietnam-Era Draft Evaders and Military Deserters", and "Address in Helsinki Before the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe".

As we are interested not only in the overall mean scores for each president, but also in tracking certain verbal patterns in particular types of speeches, we have grouped

the speeches accordingly, which is aimed at facilitating data analysis through creating diagrams. Thus, Speech 1 set includes first inaugural addresses of the four presidents.

Speeches delivered before politicians took presidential office, namely "Houston Ministerial Association Speech" by John F. Kennedy, "A Time for Choosing" by Ronald Reagan, "A More Perfect Union" by Barack Obama and "Remarks in Kansas City" by Gerald Ford, belong to Speech 2 set. It should be noted that "A Time for Choosing" was delivered by Ronald Reagan in 1964 while supporting presidential candidate, but not while running as one. Another reservation concerns the candidate speech by Gerald Ford, which was delivered when the latter was incumbent president.

Speech 3 set contains speeches delivered abroad: "Ich bin ein Berliner", "Brandenburg Gate Address", "A New Beginning" and "Helsinki Address".

Other sets of speeches have more blurred boundaries due to the fact that, especially in case of John F. Kennedy and Ronald Reagan, the most famous speeches of the American presidents were delivered under specific circumstances. For instance, in Speech 4 set we included speeches either delivered abroad or at least indirectly connected to foreign policy issues: "Cuban Missile Crisis Address", "40th Anniversary of D-Day Address", "Nobel Prize for Peace Acceptance Speech", and "Remarks on Vietnam-Era Draft Evaders".

Speech 5 set contains university commencement addresses by John F. Kennedy, Barack Obama and Gerald Ford. As no commencement address by Ronald Reagan was included into the index of the 100 most significant American political speeches of the 20th century, we referred his "Evil Empire" speech, delivered at the Association of Evangelicals, to this set.

Speech 6 set may be called Miscellaneous, as it includes "Civil Rights Address" by John F. Kennedy, "Shuttle "Challenger" Disaster Address" by Ronald Reagan, "President-Elect Victory Speech" by Barack Obama and "The 1975 State of the Union Address" by Gerald R. Ford.

The inclusion of diverse speech material which "cuts across a period of time, across different substantive topics, across different audiences, and inside or outside of the leadership group" is designed to help us determine the stability of certain leadership traits (Hermann 2003: 206). Moreover, Hermann (2003) claims that "by examining different aspects of the context such as the topic, audience, and whether the focus of attention is on the domestic or international domains, we can learn if leaders are sensitive to certain cues in their environment and not to others" (Hermann 2003: 206). It

also gives the researcher insights into whether leaders may adapt their public image to the situation they find themselves in, in which way they are likely to change their behavior and what contextual features may cause such change (Hermann 2003: 206).

To sum up, our study is aimed at analyzing charismatic rhetoric in its extreme manifestations, that is to say, we focus on some of the most successful speeches of some of the most charismatic American presidents. Most of the existent studies on charismatic rhetoric (Fiol et al. 1999; Shamir et al. 1993; Seyranian and Bligh 2008 etc) are based upon finding the differences between the speeches of charismatic and non-charismatic politicians and describing general tendencies in their communication styles in relative terms (e.g. charismatics use more references to the past, non-charismatic leaders use less inclusive terms etc). In our research we have decided to concentrate more on finding similarities in the speeches of charismatic leaders and drawing particular attention to absolute figures rather than relative "more or less" tendencies. However, the inclusion of one non-charismatic president and employment of the table of mean scores for the first seven post-World War II presidents, compiled by Walter Weintraub (2003) (see Appendix II, p. 187), are supposed to perform a function of "yardstick", which can help us define whether scores of charismatic leaders on particular categories of analysis are low, moderate or high.

At the same time we are fully aware of two factors. First of all, there may be similarities in the use of certain categories not only among charismatic leaders, but between charismatic leaders and non-charismatic Gerald Ford as well. That is why the inclusion of the latter in the study offers another variable we should take into account while drawing general conclusions. Since human personality is so complex, we cannot exclude the possibility that charismatic leaders possess some non-charismatic traits and non-charismatic leaders may have a set of charismatic traits. It is especially important taking into account a small sample of the presidents under study.

The second factor is that psychological content-analysis is manually coded, but not computer-based method, so there is a possibility that different researchers may treat some categories differently. Besides, while developing his method, Walter Weintraub highlighted the necessity to study spontaneous speeches of a politician as unprepared speeches under moderate stress conditions may better reveal personality traits of a speaker. Our research is based on the analysis of prepared speeches, so this incongruence should also be taken into account while making conclusions about charismatic rhetoric.

With this in mind, we will try to rationalize the concept of charisma through linking the psychological profiles of the American presidents and their common communication features that may be often subconsciously manifested or – sometimes – even deliberately employed in their speeches.

2.3. Methodology

Taking into account that political discourse is of a complex nature, its study requires a combination of interdisciplinary methods that would provide a researcher with several perspectives from different fields, namely linguistics, political science, sociology and psychology.

The key method which we use in our research is psychological content analysis developed by Walter Weintraub. At the core of Weintraub's methodology lies the belief that certain psychological characteristics of a speaker are subconsciously manifested in his or her use of particular linguistic categories. These categories include personal pronouns *I*, *we* and *me*, negatives, qualifiers, adverbial intensifiers, expressions of feelings, retractors, explainers, creative expressions, direct and non-personal references (Weintraub 2003). On the basis of the frequencies of the categories per 1000 words we may create a psychological profile of a politician, thus defining what traits of his or her character play the most important role in the decision-making process and what behaviors would be characteristic of the politician under crisis conditions. Technically speaking, Weintraub's method is a quantitative content analysis in which categories of analysis are pre-defined and linked to certain personality traits. Weintraub claims that the method is most efficiently used in the study of natural language as politicians tend to have less control on their communication content under stress and in the situations when they have to improvise (e.g. during press conferences) (Weintraub 2003). Though there are certain attempts to make the method computer-based, which would allow the processing of large corpora of texts (Shaw 2012), in its original form Weintraub's linguistic analysis should be performed by naïve judges (general public who had no special professional background in psychology, sociology or linguistics) who "can score [the transcripts] without extensive knowledge of lexical meaning" (Weintraub 1989: 11; cited in Pennebaker et al. 2003: 552). The linguistic features […] are largely intuitively derived and are drawn from clinical experiences of how psychopathology surfaces in patients' language use (Pennebaker et al. 2003: 552).

Though psychological content analysis is used as a basis in our research, we have made certain modifications to the list of categories offered by Weintraub.

First of all, we have broadened the scope of pronouns under study. While Weintraub concentrated on the use of personal pronouns *I*, *we* and *me*, we also include *us* as well as possessive pronouns *our* (*ours*) and *my* (*mine*).

Secondly, we have excluded such categories as direct and non-personal references from our study. According to Weintraub (2003), the category of non-personal references is extremely frequent. The mean score of the category for the first seven post-World War II presidents is 775 units per 1000 words. We believe that, when the category is used so often, it is hard for the audience to perceive the relative difference between communication patterns of various speakers. For instance, when one speaker's score of the category is 600 units per 1000 words and another speaker's is 800, both will be perceived by naïve judges as the ones who use non-personal references very often.

Thirdly, in order to study rhetorical techniques employed by American presidents more thoroughly, we have also included rhetorical questions, metaphors, contrasts, parallel constructions and lists in addition to the creative expressions, offered by Weintraub.

In general, our study focuses on the following categories: personal pronouns *I* and *we*, *me* and *us*, *our* (*ours*) and *my* (*mine*), negatives, expressions of feelings, adverbial intensifiers, qualifiers, retractors, explainers, creative expressions, metaphors, lists, parallel constructions, contrasts and rhetorical questions.

When the list of units within a category could be strictly defined (pronouns, negatives, retractors and explainers), we relied more on the computer-based search (with the help of MS Word features). However, even in this case the relevance of a unit for a particular category was double-checked by the researcher. When it was difficult to come up with an exhaustive list of units within a category (expressions of feelings, qualifiers, intensifying adverbs, metaphors), the analysis was solely performed by the coder. In order to increase stability reliability, which is defined as "the extent to which the same text is coded the same way more than once by the same coder" (Insch, Moore and Murphy 1997: 14), we analyzed the speeches of American presidents twice. Thus, at least partially, we tried to meet Insch et al.'s recommendation that "if hand-coded, consistency of accurate classification should be verified by assessing reproducibility (inter-rater) reliability and stability reliability (test-retest by the same coder)" (Insch et al. 1997: 15).

Although the linguistic categories in our research are mostly manually coded, primary data we have received are subsequently processed with the use of a special statistical software SPSS. Application of this program facilitated calculation of various statistical indices such as mean scores, standard deviation and range, which, in its turn, minimized the possibility of technical error by the researcher at this stage of research.

While psychological content-analysis is used as a basic research method in our study, we also employ the postulates of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) while analyzing the political speeches of American presidents. The CDA advocates (Schäffner (1996), Fairclough (1995), Wodak (1996)) claim that political discourse should be studied in relation to the context in which it was uttered and that every linguistic unit should be viewed critically. Though such an approach increases the role of a researcher and the subjectivity of the results, it is an attempt to integrate both qualitative and quantitative methods, which is van de Mieroop's recommendation for the analysts while studying identity in the larger corpora of political speeches (van de Mieroop 2005: 107).

Yammarino et al. (2005) argue that in leadership research it is necessary to clearly define the level of analysis in order to draw correct conclusions. According to Yammarino et al. (2005), there are four levels of analysis: individuals, dyads, groups and collectives. In our current research the charismatic rhetoric is conceptualized at the collective level, since American presidents are leaders of the nation and through their verbal and non-verbal behavior they represent that particular collective society. Besides, in all the speeches under study the presidents addressed large collectives of people.

In general, in the course of the analysis we employ the principles of psychological analysis, content-analysis and Critical Discourse Analysis. Such a combination enables us to merge both qualitative and quantitative perspectives on political discourse and supports the statement that "a multiple-methods approach is the most feasible way to obtain a reliable and valid measure of extremely complex leader behavior" (Insch et al. 1997: 20).

3. Results and discussion

3.1. Pronominal use in de-constructing identity

Even though personal pronouns are a basic linguistic category, which is widely used in everyday speech without due attention, their pragmatic usage may have considerable ideological effect and fulfill a number of functions in political communication.

According to Gastil (1992), politicians and citizens might manipulate their pronouns for at least four reasons (Gastil 1992: 484). First of all, people can use personal pronouns for stating their ideological position on specific issues or for defining the proximity of the speaker to the topic under discussion or to the discussants themselves. Besides, "using *we* to include listeners can involve them in the speaker's argument, possibly making them more receptive" (Gastil 1992: 485). This technique may be employed for disguising absurdities or weak arguments, because, when mentioned in inclusive terms by the speaker, the listener is unlikely to question the speaker's statements in order not to appear foolish. Similarly, if the speaker's claims regard the speaker, the hearer and some other entity, such as the state, "then the hearer's implied relationship to both speaker and subject matter might "weaken in some sense the individual's hold on independent thought"" (Moss 1985: 46; cited in Gastil 1992: 485). Finally, the choice of pronouns can affect attributions of responsibility (Gastil 1992: 485). For instance, the use of *we* will place responsibility for the unpopular measures on the collectives, such as presidential administration, while *I* may be used for reaping the popularity benefits from successful policies implemented by the presidential team. As Gastil (1992) puts it, American presidents manipulate the pronouns "to focus praise toward themselves, as individuals, and deflect criticism toward the institutional role of the president" (Gastil 1992: 485-486).

Similarly, Boyd (2009) claims that "pronouns can indicate (or obscure) collectivity and individuality, […] be used for "self" or "other" referencing or as a way to polarize representations of ingroups and outgroups (Boyd 2009: 81). Boyd (2009) emphasizes that "in politics the most salient pronominal distinctions are *I* vs. *we*, inclusive vs. exclusive-*we*, and *us* vs. *them* (Boyd 2009: 81). The use of *I*/*we* is clearly

marked depending on how much responsibility the speaker wants to claim: *I* is used "to gain the people's allegiance", while *we* is often used to evade complete responsibility (Wilson 1990: 50; cited in Boyd 2009: 81). Besides, *we* may have different meanings depending on whether it includes or excludes the addressee(s) and whether inclusion is partial or total (Boyd 2009: 81). For instance, inclusive *we* assimilates leader to "the people" (Fairclough 1994: 179), while exclusive *we* may be used to present the achievements of the speaker's political team and compare them to the work of their predecessors or current opponents. In a similar fashion, third-person pronouns can be used for distance, a relation of contrast and other referencing from the so-called "deictic centre", of which *I* and its variants can be considered the centre (Boyd 2009: 81).

Deliberate shifts between *I* and *we* not only allow for a shift in perspective, but also blur the distinction between the two pronouns making the speaker a more human part of his or her all-encompassing and uniting *we* (Boyd 2009: 87). In general, proper usage of personal pronouns creates an "imagined community" in which the president and his listeners coexist on a level plane (Teten 2003).

Personal pronouns are used to construct a desired identity by a politician and, in general, they reflect the presence of the three main voices. The *we* pronoun is relevant for the institutional identity, whereas the *I*-form reflects the presence of the speaker and *you* – the role of the audience (van de Mieroop 2005: 112).

A number of studies (see Fiol et al. (1999); Seyranian and Bligh (2008); Rosenberg and Hirschberg (2009)) demonstrate that charismatic politicians use more inclusive pronouns and less self-referential ones in comparison with non-charismatic speakers. Moreover, Rosenberg and Hirschberg (2009) draw attention to a specific regularity that "the use of first person pronouns appeared to cause subjects to rate tokens as *less* charismatic in text, but *more* charismatic in speech" (Rosenberg and Hirschberg 2009: 651). Thus, the modality of the sample (whether the political messages are delivered in written or oral form) also influences the attributions of charisma.

Our sample includes the transcripts of oral speeches delivered by the American presidents, so we would expect charismatic politicians to use inclusive pronouns, especially *we*, more often than self-referential pronouns, namely *I*.

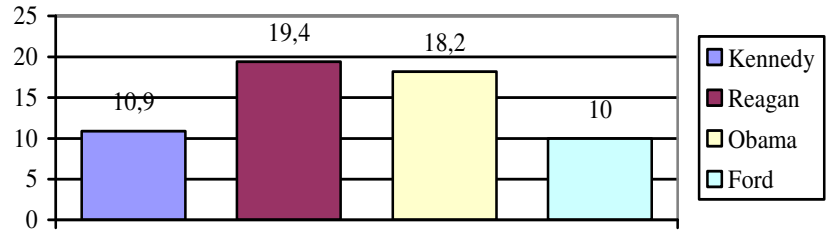
3.1.1. Use of the personal pronoun we

Due to the fact that our research is based on the methodology developed by Weintraub, who does not differentiate between inclusive and exclusive *we,* we count a

total number of *we* appearances in the political speeches (a complete summary of pronominal categories data may be found in Appendix III, p. 188-189).

Overall mean scores of the personal pronoun *we* are 10.9 for John F. Kennedy, 19.4 for Ronald Reagan and 18.2 for Barack Obama. Taking into account the disparity between John F. Kennedy and the other two charismatic presidents on this category, our proposition that the speeches of charismatic presidents would have equally high frequencies of the *we* pronoun is not supported. Moreover, the respective overall mean score of non-charismatic Ford is similar to the one of John F. Kennedy and constitutes 10 units per 1000 words (see Diagram 1).

Diagram 1. Overall mean frequencies of the personal pronoun *we* (units per 1000 words)

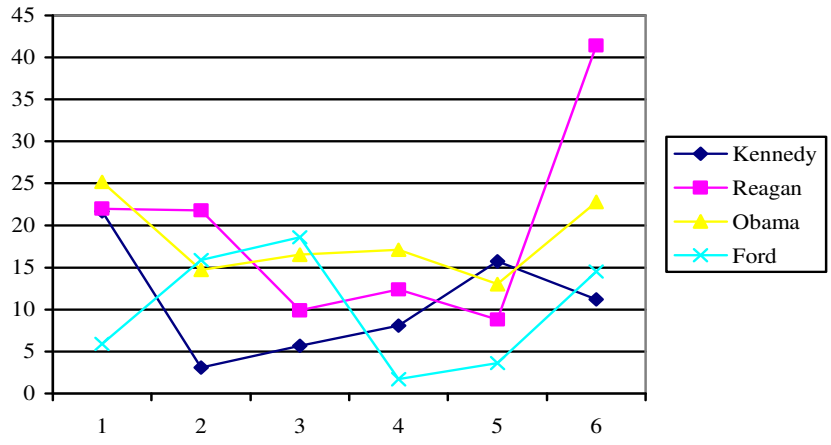


At the same time we notice an interesting consistency that, for the charismatic presidents, the highest frequencies are characteristic of the inaugural speeches – 21.7 for Kennedy, 22 – for Reagan and 25.2 – for Obama (see Diagram 2). In this regard, one of David G. Winter's arguments should be noted, which claims that inaugurals are especially indicative of the politician's psychological nature and public image, though the scholar focuses mostly on the motivational portraits of the leader (Winter 1987: 198). The high frequencies of inclusive pronouns may be explained with presidents' endeavor to introduce not only themselves, but their administration as a team and to associate themselves once more with their supporters, while delivering an inaugural address. Such reasoning is reflected in the following examples:

(1) To those old allies whose cultural and spiritual origins *we* share, *we* pledge the loyalty of faithful friends (Kennedy, "The Inaugural Address").

(2) *We* the People have remained faithful to the ideals of our forebearers (Obama, "The Inaugural Address").

Diagram 2. Frequencies (axis 0Y) of the personal pronoun *we* in different speech sets (axis 0X)



On the other hand, it is indicative that the *we* score of Ford's inaugural, who took office after Richard Nixon's resignation in 1974 and became the only president of the United States, who was never elected president nor vice-president by the Electoral College, is extremely low – 5.9 per 1000 words.

It should be mentioned that, out of 24 speeches, the highest *we* frequency is in "The Shuttle "Challenger" Disaster Address" (41.4), which may be interpreted as Reagan's attempt to express his empathy to the people who lost their relatives and re-unite a nation in the moment of national tragedy. This tendency is well illustrated in the following examples:

(3) *We* know *we* share this pain with all of the people of our country (Reagan, "The Shuttle "Challenger" Disaster Address").

(4) *We* mourn their loss as a nation together (Reagan, "The Shuttle "Challenger" Disaster Address").

On the other hand, the lowest *we* usage (3.1 for Kennedy, 8.8 for Reagan and 13 for Obama) is characteristic of the speeches which deal with some religious issues ("Houston Ministerial Association Speech", "The Evil Empire" and "Commencement Address at the University of Notre Dame" respectively), which may be explained with

the statement that religion-sensitive issues are better discussed from first-person-singular perspective, not to damage the image of the party one represents.

Another observation concerns the use of *we* in the political speeches delivered abroad. Charismatic presidents tend to use first-person-plural pronoun below the average level while addressing the foreign audience. The *we* score for "Ich bin ein Berliner" address is 5.7 while Kennedy's overall average measures 10.9. Ronald Reagan employs *we* with the frequency of 12.4 in "40th Anniversary of D-Day Address" and 9.9 in "Brandenburg Gate Address" whereas his overall mean score is 19.4. As for Barack Obama's use of the *we* pronoun, "A New Beginning" address at Cairo University and "Nobel Prize for Peace Acceptance Address" in Oslo score 16.5 and 17.1 respectively, which is yet lower than Obama's average of 18.2. Conversely, a non-charismatic Ford uses the *we* pronoun most frequently in his "Helsinki Address" – 18.6 comparing to the overall mean score of 10 units per 1000 words. Since the personal pronoun *we* is used to create the feeling of shared community between leader and the followers, it is more important for charismatic leaders to use this technique at home, while addressing their potential electorate, than during their trips abroad.

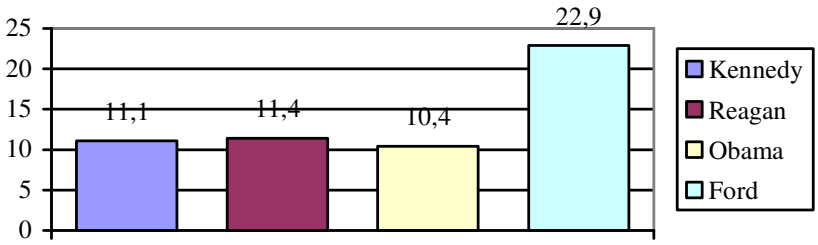
Though our proposition concerning the use of *we* is not supported, our findings indicate that charismatic leaders are more skillful in employing inclusive personal pronouns. They are more flexible and capable of adjusting the pronominal use to meet the final aims of communication.

*3.1.2. Use of the personal pronoun **I***

According to Hermann (2003), a frequent use of *I*, *my*, *mine*, *myself* and *me* is associated with the speaker's enhanced sense of self-worth and self-confidence (Hermann 2003: 194-195). Similarly, Fairclough (1994) links the *I*-form to a self-centered perception of interests (Fairclough 1994: 180). The first-person singular pronoun may also be employed for self-effacement, to demonstrate one's own limitations or to take personal responsibility (Boyd 2009: 86-87).

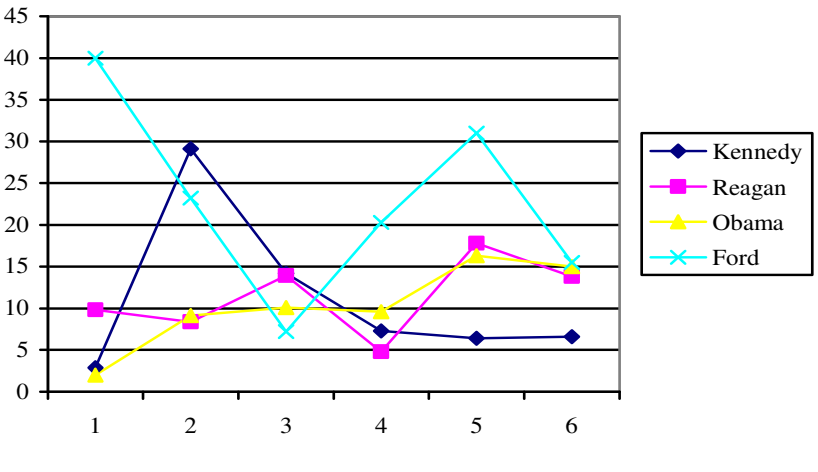
Our research demonstrates that the average frequencies of personal pronoun *I* are similar for all the three presidents – 11.1 for John F. Kennedy, 11.4 for Ronald Reagan and 10.4 for Barack Obama, which fully proves Proposition 2. The regularity is also supported with the fact that the respective score of Gerald Ford is 22.9 per 1000 words (see Diagram 3).

Diagram 3. Overall mean frequencies of the personal pronoun *I* (units per 1000 words)



It is indicative that *I* frequencies are high in the speeches in which *we* frequencies are low and vice versa. For instance, the lowest indices on *I* category for John F. Kennedy and Barack Obama are in their inaugurals (2.9 and 2 units per 1000 words respectively). To say more, in terms of the personal pronouns usage their inaugurals are quite analogous, which allows us to contemplate about either similar communication style of both presidents or deliberate endeavor of Barack Obama to link his presidential rhetoric to the one of John F. Kennedy. In contrast, the inaugural address of Gerald Ford has the highest score of the *I* pronoun – 40 units per 1000 words (see Diagram 4):

Diagram 4. Frequencies (axis OY) of the personal pronoun *I* in different speech sets (axis OX)



(5) *I* have not sought this enormous responsibility, but *I* will not shirk it (Ford, "The Inaugural Address").

What is more, while speeches on religious topics have the lowest *we* frequencies, they have the highest *I* frequencies (29.1 for John F. Kennedy, 17.8 for Ronald Reagan and 16.3 for Barack Obama). Out of 18 speeches of the charismatic presidents the highest *I* frequency is in "Houston Ministerial Association Speech" of John F. Kennedy, in which the president convinces the audience that his personal religious beliefs (he was the first Catholic to be elected as U.S. president) should not anyhow influence the electoral behavior of the people and that he should be evaluated on the merit of his personality and his previous work only. Thus, the frequent *I* usage is justified as the president discusses his candidacy as a person, but not as a representative of a particular party or an advocate of any specific political ideology. This observation is supported by the following examples:

(6) But because *I* am a Catholic, and no Catholic has ever been elected President, the real issues in this campaign have been obscured (Kennedy, "Houston Ministerial Association Speech").

(7) It is apparently necessary for me to state once again – not what kind of church *I* believe in, for that should be important only to me – but what kind of America *I* believe in (Kennedy, "Houston Ministerial Association Speech").

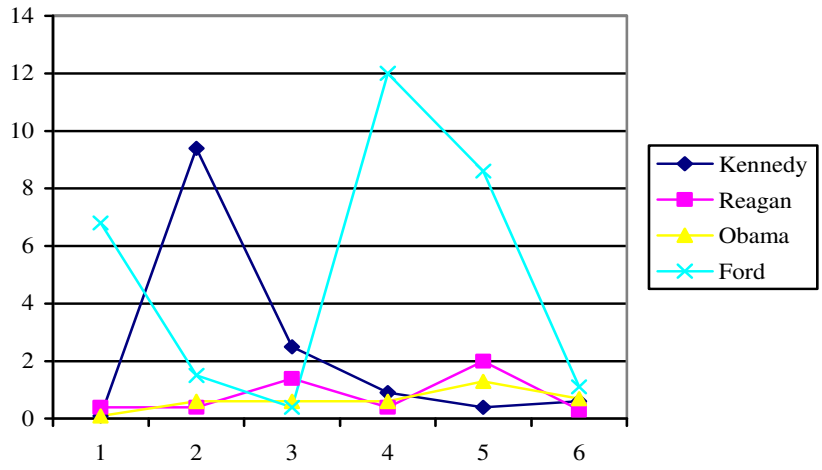
In general, charismatic presidents under study have lower mean scores of personal pronoun *I* than non-charismatic Gerald Ford, which may be interpreted as charismatic speakers' desire not to look self-centered or too self-confident in the eyes of the audience.

3.1.3. I/we ***ratio***

I/we ratio, which is identified by Walter Weintraub as a separate category of analysis, is less than 1 (which means that the *we* pronoun prevails over *I*) in 13 speeches of charismatic presidents (see Diagram 5). The average indices are 2.3 for John F. Kennedy, 0.8 – for Ronald Reagan and 0.7 – for Barack Obama. Abnormally high *I/we* ratio in the speeches of John F. Kennedy is again explained with high frequency of *I* in "Houston Ministerial Association Speech" (*I/we* ratio in this speech alone is 9.4). If to

exclude the address from overall mean score, the average would be 0.9 and go totally in line with the indices of the other two charismatic presidents.

Diagram 5. *I/we* ratio (axis 0Y) in different speech sets (axis 0X)



I/we ratio in the speeches of Gerald Ford is completely different from the one of the charismatic presidents under study. Out of 6 speeches, Ford uses *I* less frequently than *we* only in "Helsinki Address" – 0.4. In other speeches *I/we* ratio ranges from 1.1 in "1975 State of the Union Address" to 12 – in "The Remarks Announcing a Program for the Return of Vietnam-Era Draft Evaders and Military Deserters". The overall mean score of *I/we* ratio for Gerald Ford is 5.1.

In general, our findings demonstrate that, unlike non-charismatic Gerald Ford, charismatic presidents tend to use pronoun *we* more often than pronoun *I*. It may be explained with politicians' desire to unite more followers around their vision and boost the loyalty of their electorate. When followers start to feel shared responsibility with their leader and trust the latter to the extent that they believe the aims and needs of the leader resonate with their own aims and needs, charismatic relations appear in their genuine form.

3.1.4. Use of the first-person possessive pronouns

Talking about language of self-reference and inclusion, it is worth mentioning possessive pronouns *our* (*ours*) and *my* (*mine*) as well as *me/us* correlation. Though Weintraub does not single out these pronouns as separate categories, in this case we will

follow Seyranian and Bligh's (2008) recommendation to have a broader look at self-referential and inclusive linguistic units.

According to van de Mieroop (2005), "reference to self or others can be achieved in discourse through the use of possessive pronouns", which, along with personal pronouns, "serve the goal of identity construction" (van de Mieroop 2005: 112).

According to the results of our research, the average frequencies of *my* (*mine*) are 3.7 for John F. Kennedy, 1.5 for Ronald Reagan and 3.6 for Barack Obama, while the indices of *our* (*ours*) are 9, 10.5 and 12.7 respectively (see Diagram 6 and Diagram 7). Again, we may conclude that 1) the indices are almost equal for all the three presidents, and 2) inclusive possessives (*our*, *ours*) outnumbers self-referential ones (*my*, *mine*) manifold.

Gerald Ford uses the possessive pronouns *my* (*mine*) more frequently than the charismatic presidents. The mean score of the category is 8.6 per 1000 words. At the same time *our* (*ours*) frequency is similar to the score of the charismatic presidents and is measured at the level of 10.4.

Diagram 6. Overall mean frequencies of the possessive pronoun *my (mine)* (units per 1000 words)

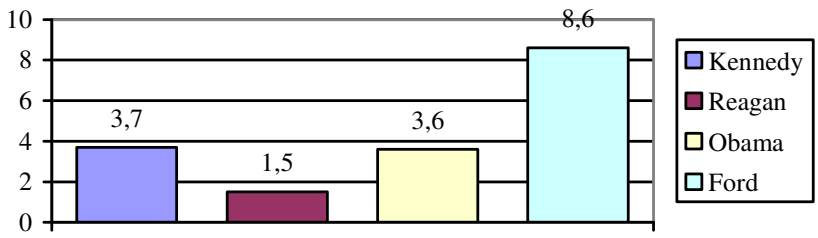
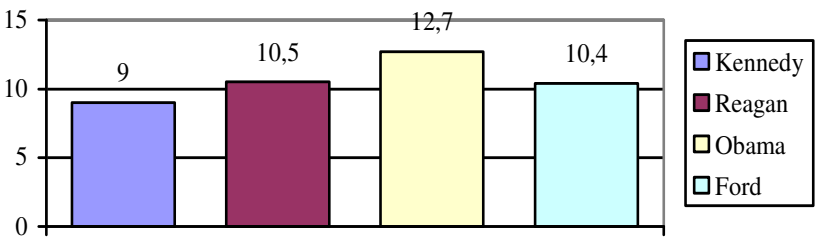


Diagram 7. Overall mean frequencies of the possessive pronoun *our (ours)* (units per 1000 words)



The gap between *my* (*mine*) vs. *our* (*ours*) usage is especially obvious in the inaugural addresses (see Appendix III, p. 188-189). In his inaugural address John F. Kennedy uses *my* (*mine*) with the frequency of 2.9 comparing to 15.2 of *our* (*ours*). The scores of Ronald Reagan's inaugural address are 2 and 22 respectively. Barack Obama's inaugural address is characterized by the score of 1.2 for *my* (*mine*) category and 28 – for *our* (*ours*). Contrarily, Gerald Ford employs *my* (*mine*) more often (18.8) than *our* (*ours*) (12.9) in his inaugural address.

Similarly to the usage of *we*, the inaugural addresses of the charismatic presidents are characterized by some of the highest frequencies of the possessive pronouns *our* and *ours*. The only case when a charismatic president uses *our* (*ours*) more frequently is "American University Commencement Address" by John F. Kennedy (17.4).

The highest scores of *my* (*mine*) category for the charismatic presidents are in their candidate speeches ("The Houston Ministerial Association Speech" by John F. Kennedy – 9.9 and "A More Perfect Union" by Barack Obama – 6.2).

Conversely, the candidate speech of Gerald Ford ("Republican Nomination Address") contains his personal highest score of *our* (*ours*) – 16.6. The president employs *my* (*mine*) most frequently in his inaugural address – 18.8.

To sum up, the possessive pronouns *our* (*ours*) perform similar function as the personal pronoun *we*. They are used to construct shared identity between leader and followers:

(8) We're for aiding *our* allies by sharing of *our* material blessings with those nations which share in *our* fundamental beliefs (Reagan, "A Time for Choosing").

(9) *Our* stories are singular, but *our* destiny is shared, and a new dawn of American leadership is at hand (Obama, "President-Elect Victory Speech").

On the other hand, charismatic presidents avoid extensive use of self-referential possessive pronouns *my* (*mine*), so the latter occur more frequently in the speeches of Gerald Ford:

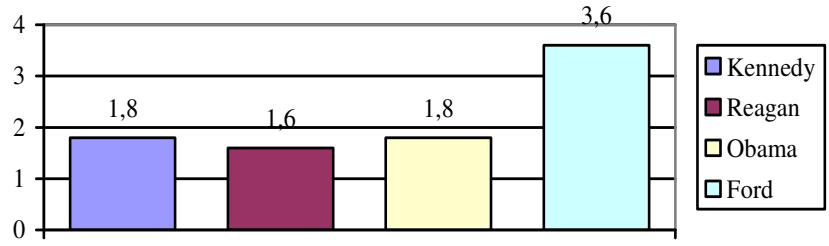
(10) In all *my* public and private acts as your President, I expect to follow *my* instincts of openness and candor (Ford, "The Inaugural Address").

*3.1.5. Use of pronouns **me** and **us***

Proposition 3 deals with pronouns *me* and *us* as indicators of passive tendencies in the character of a person. According to Weintraub (2003), the pronoun *me* is "the grammatical recipient of the action" (Weintraub 2003: 145), so high scores of the pronoun would be characteristic of passive speakers. In Weintraub's (2003) study average frequency of *me* for the first seven post-WWII American presidents is measured at the level of 1.5 units per 1000 words.

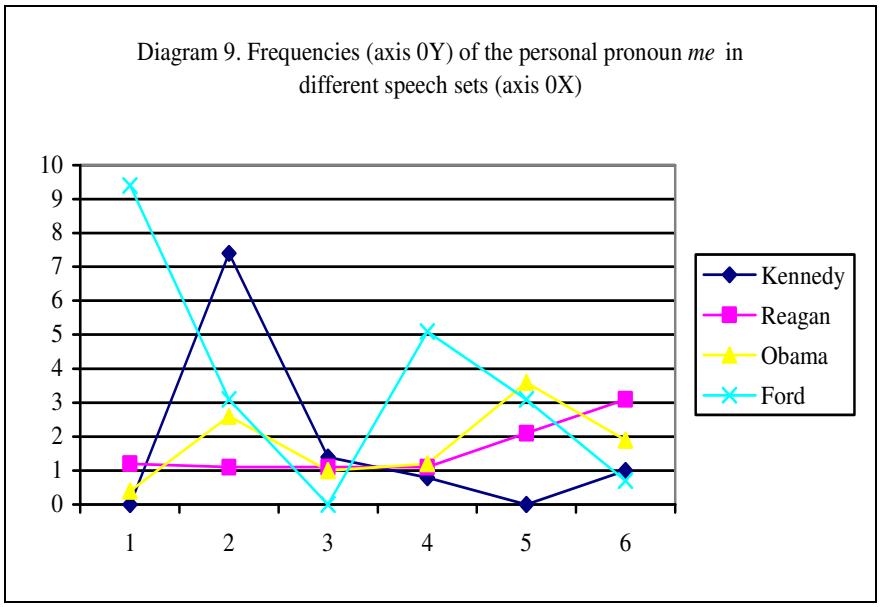
Our study shows that three charismatic presidents have identical indices on this category (1.8 – John F. Kennedy, 1.6 – Ronald Reagan and 1.8 – Barack Obama). The overall mean score of *me* usage for Gerald Ford is twice bigger – 3.6 (see Diagram 8).

Diagram 8. Overall mean frequencies of the personal pronoun *me* (units per 1000 words)



Once again, the use of the pronoun *me* in the inaugural addresses deserves special attention. The inaugural addresses of charismatic presidents have the lowest scores of the category (John F. Kennedy – 0; Ronald Reagan – 1.2, Barack Obama – 0.4). At the same time the inaugural address of Gerald Ford has his personal highest score of *me* – 9.4 (see Diagram 9). The examples of the pronoun *me* usage are the following:

(11) You have not elected *me* as your President by your ballots, and so I ask you to confirm *me* as your President with your prayers (Ford, "The Inaugural Address").

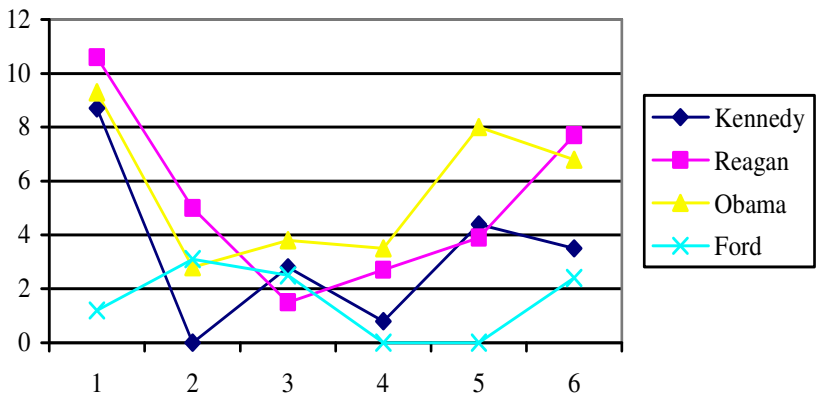


Beside the inaugural addresses, the charismatic presidents also use pronoun *me* less frequently in the speeches delivered abroad: John F. Kennedy – "Ich bin ein Berliner" (1.4); Ronald Reagan – "40th Anniversary of D-Day Address" (1.1), "Brandenburg Gate Address" (1.1), Barack Obama – "A New Beginning" (1), "Nobel Prize for Peace Acceptance Speech" (1.2). Similarly, the lowest frequency of the pronoun *me* for Gerald Ford is in his "Helsinki Address" – 0.

Infrequent use of the pronoun *me* in the speeches delivered abroad is quite logical. In front of foreign audience presidents usually represent not themselves or their administration, but the whole American nation. Besides, while expressions of passivity or inability to change the state of affairs may, in exceptional cases, be rationally justified in communication with the electorate at home, in the eyes of world public presidents should present their own country as the strongest player possible.

That is why the speeches delivered abroad also contain some of the lowest scores of the pronoun *us* for the charismatic presidents: John F. Kennedy – "Ich bin ein Berliner" (2.8); Ronald Reagan – "40th Anniversary of D-Day Address" (2.7), "Brandenburg Gate Address" (1.5), Barack Obama – "A New Beginning" (3.8), "Nobel Prize for Peace Acceptance Speech" (3.5) (see Diagram 10). In this regard non-charismatic Gerald Ford brings some inconsistency into the pattern, with the mean score of the pronoun *us* being 2.5 in his "Helsinki Address", while his overall average is 1.5.

Diagram 10. Frequencies (axis 0Y) of the personal pronoun *us* in different speech sets (axis 0X)



At the same time it should be mentioned that the inaugural addresses of the charismatic presidents contain equally high mean scores of the personal pronoun *us* (John F. Kennedy – 8.7, Ronald Reagan – 10.6, Barack Obama – 9.3), which contrasts with the low index of Gerald Ford – 1.2. The use of the personal pronoun *us* in the inaugural addresses is illustrated in the following examples:

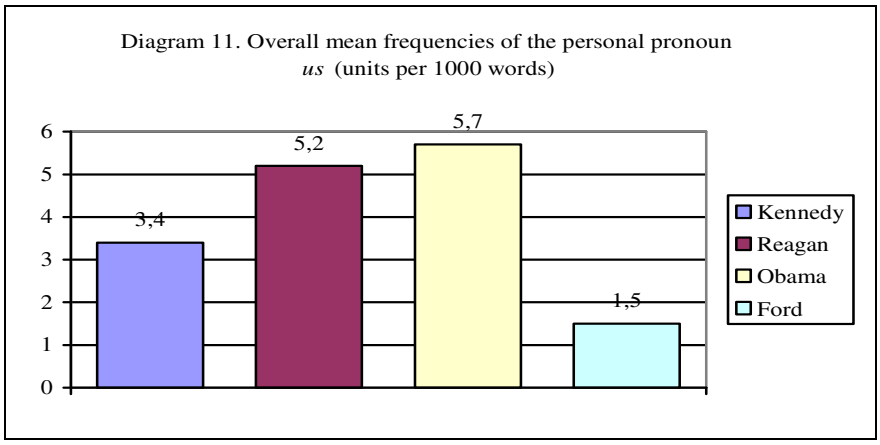
(12) Let *us* never negotiate out of fear, but let *us* never fear to negotiate (Kennedy, "The Inaugural Address").

(13) All of *us* together – in and out of government – must bear the burden (Reagan, "The Inaugural Address").

(14) America: In the face of our common dangers, in this winter of our hardship, let *us* remember these timeless words (Obama, "The Inaugural Address").

As we may notice, in the above mentioned examples the personal pronoun *us* does not indicate passivity. On the contrary, it is used as a part of *let us* construction in order to motivate the followers and as a plea to unite the efforts in the process of achieving common goals. The appeals of this kind are to be present in the inaugural addresses and the personal pronoun *us* is efficiently used to make them.

In general, the mean scores of the pronoun *us* for the charismatic presidents are 3.4 (John F. Kennedy), 5.2 (Ronald Reagan) and 5.7 (Barack Obama) (see Diagram 11).



To sum up, having analyzed the use of *me* and *us*, several observations come to the surface.

First of all, we may see that pronouns associated with passivity (*me* and *us*) are used much less frequently than "active" pronouns *I* and *we*, both by charismatic and non-charismatic presidents. It is possible to infer that the leaders should avoid frequent usage of *us* and *me* in their discourse, as it may subconsciously create a public impression of a person who is dependent on situation and cannot be a leader of an active type, capable of finding solutions, rather than excuses. At the same time the personal pronoun *us* has a potential to motivate followers and align them around leader's vision, so its more frequent use in some motivational speeches, especially in the inaugural addresses, is fully justified.

Secondly, our study indicates that the charismatic presidents tend to use inclusive *us* more often than self-referential *me*, whereas the tendency is opposite for non-charismatic Gerald Ford.

Thirdly, the mean scores of *me* for the charismatic presidents are twice smaller than for non-charismatic Ford, which proves that charismatic politicians are leaders of an active type and it is manifested in their communication style.

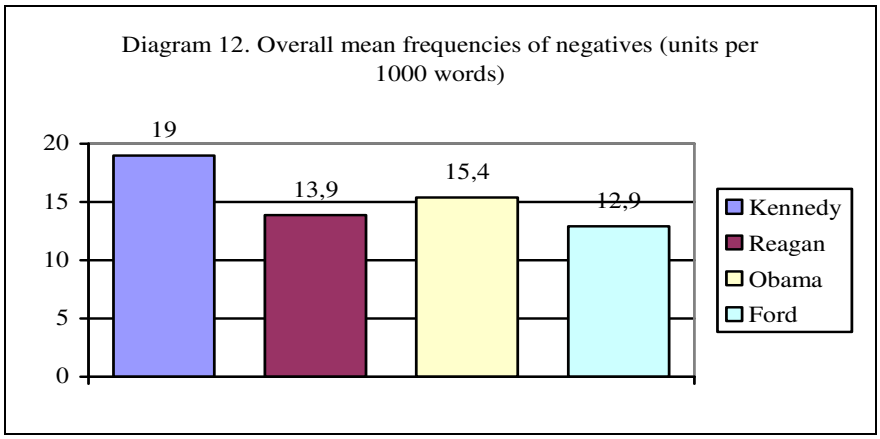
In general, our findings fully prove Proposition 3, which states that the speeches of three most charismatic American presidents will contain similarly low frequencies of pronouns *me* and *us*.

3.2. Use of negation

Negation may be efficiently used to describe the necessity of implementing changes in an existing political system. In order to align followers around a new vision, a politician has to destroy the followers' links to conventional system, then – through double negation – stress the impossibility of non-changing and only then – present a new vision (Fiol et al. 1999). Furthermore, Fiol et al. (1999) contemplate that "*not* does not represent unconscious motives; it is a conscious rhetorical device in the repertoire of communicative tools consistently employed by charismatic leaders to bring about innovation and gain acceptance for revolutionary ideas" (Fiol et al. 1999: 455).

In our research negatives include the following items: *no*, *not*, *never*, *nor*, *neither*, *nothing*, *nowhere*, *nevertheless*, *none* and negative contractions (*cannot, won't, don't* etc).

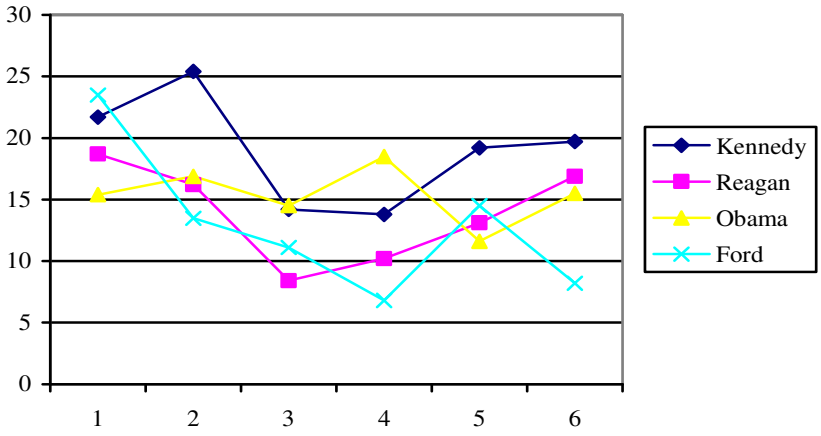
Walter Weintraub (2003) measured the average frequency of negatives for post-war American presidents at the level of 12 units per 1000 words. As it was anticipated, our analysis shows that the indices on this category for John F. Kennedy, Ronald Reagan and Barack Obama are higher (19, 13.9 and 15.4 respectively). The mean score of negatives for Gerald Ford is 12.9 (see Diagram 12).



For the charismatic presidents, only in three out of 18 speeches the level of negatives was lower than 12 (see Diagram 13). Two speeches with the least frequency of negatives ("40th Anniversary of D-Day Address" – 10.2, and "Brandenburg Gate Address" – 8.4) were delivered by Ronald Reagan during his trips abroad in 1984 (last year of his first term) and 1987 (penultimate year of his second term). These findings go in line with Fiol et al.'s claim that "one would expect "nots" to be used … less

frequently in the final frame – re-freezing phase" (Fiol et al. 1999: 20) that is to say at the end of presidential term.

Diagram 13. Frequencies (axis 0Y) of negatives in different speech sets (axis 0X)



In the case of Gerald Ford, three out of six speeches have mean scores of negatives lower than 12 (a detailed summary of negatives data for all the presidents under study may be found in Appendix IV, p. 190-191). The lowest score of the category (6.8) is characteristic of "Remarks Announcing a Program for the Return of Vietnam-Era Draft Evaders and Military Deserters", while negatives are most frequently used in "The Inaugural Address" (23.5).

It should be mentioned that the inaugural addresses of the charismatic presidents also contain rather high scores of negatives (John F. Kennedy – 21.7, Ronald Reagan – 18.7, Barack Obama – 15.4). It may be explained with the need to present a course of action of a newly elected presidential administration, and to highlight the changes, which are to be introduced. The following examples may illustrate such a motivation:

(15) We pledge our best efforts to help them help themselves, for whatever period is required – *not* because the Communists may be doing it, *not* because we seek their votes, but because it is right (Kennedy, "The Inaugural Address").

(16) I do *not* believe in a fate that will fall on us *no* matter what we do (Reagan, "The Inaugural Address").

(17) We will *not* apologize for our way of life, *nor* will we waver in its defense (Obama, "The Inaugural Address").

Similar logic explains the fact that the candidate speeches of John F. Kennedy and Barack Obama have even higher scores of negatives (25.4 and 16.9 respectively). Ronald Reagan's speech delivered before he became president has also high score of negatives – 16.2. Though it cannot be regarded as a typical candidate speech as Ronald Reagan delivered it 17 years before taking an office, the major aim of the speech was to support contemporary Republican Party's nominee for president – Barry Goldwater.

Though our proposition 4 is not supported in the regard that the speeches of charismatic presidents are characterized by *equally* high scores of negatives, we prove that charismatic leaders tend to use this category above average level. In general, the frequent use of negatives by charismatic presidents may be explained with the need to derogate status quo, personal opposition to the existing system and persistence as a specific trait of a character.

3.3. Use of adverbial intensifiers

It should be noted that there exist different approaches to defining the category of adverbial intensifiers. For Weintraub, adverbial intensifiers include all adverbs that increase the force of a statement (Weintraub 2003: 146). Athanasiadou (2007) claims that "adverbs that express extent or intensity are called degree adverbs or degree modifiers or intensifiers" (Athanasiadou 2007: 555), offering that, along with maximizers (*completely*) and boosters (*very much*), the concept of intensification also includes the adverbs which scale the entity downwards from an assumed norm, namely approximators (*almost*), compromisers (*more or less*), diminishers (*partly*) and minimizers (*hardly*) (Athanasiadou 2007: 555). Moreover, the author argues that the statements may get intensified through the use of focus modifiers which express emphasis: additives (*also*, *too*, *even*), exclusives (*only*, *merely*, *just*) and particularizers (*exactly*, *just*) (Athanasiadou 2007: 556). Thus, the researcher treats the category of intensifying adverbs much more broadly than Weintraub, stating that the adverbial modifiers "that scale an entity upwards from an assumed norm, that is they express a positive degree, are called amplifiers" (Athanasiadou 2007: 555) and that amplifiers are one of many clusters within intensifiers group. Jeong shares yet another perspective,

naming *very*, *only*, *every*, *never* and *always* as "the five most commonly used intensifiers" (Jeong 2005: 6). The latter perspective raises some serious concerns as *every*, *never* and *always* more naturally fall into the category of adverbs of frequency and adverbs of time respectively.

In order to solve this categorization problem, in our research we have decided to rely on Weintraub's definition of intensifying adverbs. Thus, we believe that the force of politicians' statements may be most efficiently enhanced through the use of amplifiers, which include maximizers and boosters, and restrictives, which include exclusives and particularizers. The examples of intensifying adverbs are the following:

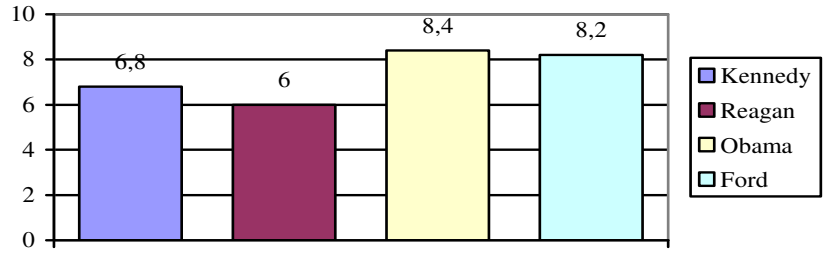
(18) I am talking about genuine peace […] not *merely* peace for Americans but peace for all men and women, not *merely* peace in our time but peace in all time (Kennedy, "American University Commencement Address").

(19) The truth is that a freeze now would be a *very* dangerous fraud, for that is *merely* the illusion of peace (Reagan, "Evil Empire").

(20) I have never been *so* naive as to believe that we can get beyond our racial divisions in a single election cycle or with a single candidate, *particularly* – *particularly* a candidacy as imperfect as my own (Obama, "A More Perfect Union").

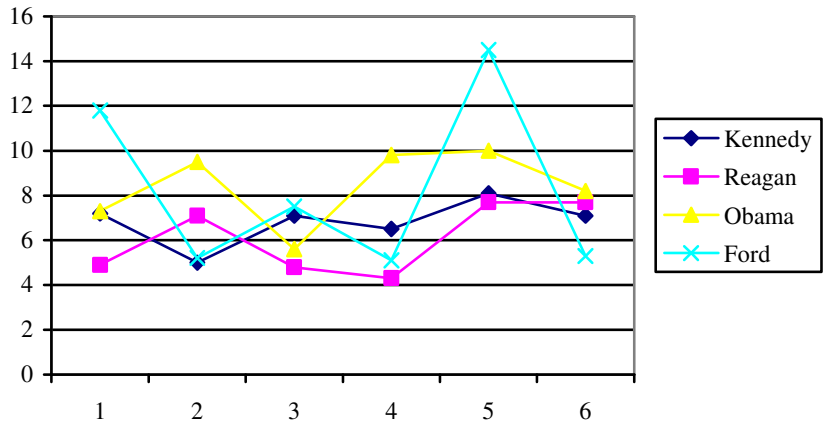
The speeches of the three American presidents contain the following average scores of the category of adverbial intensifiers: 6.8 – for John F. Kennedy, 6 – for Ronald Reagan and 8.4 – for Barack Obama (see Diagram 14). For comparison, the mean score of this category for seven post-WWII American presidents is 15 units per 1000 words (Weintraub 2003). However, the speeches of non-charismatic Gerald Ford contain similar to charismatic presidents overall average score of the category – 8.2.

Diagram 14. Overall mean frequencies of intensifying adverbs (units per 1000 words)



An interesting observation is that, regardless of the topic of the speech or the type of the audience, the mean scores of intensifying adverbs vary insignificantly in the speeches of charismatic presidents (see Diagram 15).

Diagram 15. Frequencies (axis 0Y) of intensifying adverbs in different speech sets (axis 0X)



For example, standard deviation of intensifying adverbs mean scores for the speeches of John F. Kennedy is 1, of Ronald Reagan – 1.6, of Barack Obama – 1.7. The respective index of Gerald Ford is 4 (see Appendix IV, p. 190-191). The range of the mean scores is 3.1 for Kennedy, 3.4 for Reagan and 4.4 for Obama. The range of intensifying adverbs scores in the speeches of Gerald Ford outnumbers those of charismatic presidents manifold and is measured at the level of 9.4. With this consistency in mind, we may conclude that in charismatic rhetoric the frequencies of

intensifying adverbs do not depend on the context and are characteristic of particular communication style of a politician.

Though standard deviation of intensifying adverbs mean scores in the speeches of the charismatic presidents is rather low, it is possible to track the following pattern – the university commencement addresses contain the highest mean scores of the category. For instance, while addressing university students John F. Kennedy uses adverbial intensifiers with the frequency of 8.1 units per 1000 words, Barack Obama – 10 units per 1000 words. The mean score of the category in the university address of non-charismatic Gerald Ford is even higher – 14.5 units per 1000 words. It may be explained with the need to establish an emotional contact with a younger audience, so the employment of adverbial intensifiers makes the speech emotionally more expressive. Intense emotionality explanation is also supported with the fact that the highest scores of the category for Ronald Reagan are in his "Evil Empire" and "The Shuttle "Challenger" Disaster Address" – 7.7 units per 1000 words in both speeches.

Adverbial intensifiers contribute to the overall emotional expressiveness of the speech, make it more emphatic and vocally attractive. Usually, adverbial intensifiers are especially accentuated, which creates pitch variability that is "positively related to dynamism and is generally thought to lead to positive favorability ratings" (DeGroot et al. 2011: 682). According to DeGroot et al. (2011), pitch variability is a component of vocal attractiveness, which is "a relevant aspect of the leader prototype" (DeGroot et al. 2011: 681) and "a good predictor of leadership effectiveness behaviors" (DeGroot et al. 2011: 687). Nevertheless, the abuse of adverbial intensifiers by a politician reveals high levels of anxiety, so it is important to find a balance in the usage of this category.

In general, our findings prove Proposition 5, according to which the speeches of charismatic American presidents contain equally moderate scores of intensifying adverbs.

3.4. Use of expressions of feeling

Emotional expressiveness is a characteristic feature of charismatic presidents, through which they appeal to the public and gain followers' support. Politician's ability to clearly transmit emotions to the audience and convince it in the sincerity of one's own words helps to eliminate skepticism and open followers' minds to further perception of politician's ideas.

It would be a logical assumption that emotional expressiveness is in direct co-relation with the frequency of expressions of feelings. However, "it is striking how weakly emotion words predict people's emotional state" (Pennebaker et al. 2003: 571). For instance, in natural daily speech emotions are better conveyed by means of intonation, facial expression and other non-verbal cues (Pennebaker et al. 2003: 571). In political communication the arsenal of expressive linguistic means is even more sophisticated as it includes metaphors, creative expressions, irony, rhetorical questions and other stylistic devices. Politicians prefer to reveal their emotional tone in a more exquisite manner as it contributes to the memorability of the messages they utter. At the same time, while being less elaborate, direct indication of emotions may be used to create an image of a simple and "down to earth" leader, whose communication style is based on honesty and non-fear to talk about one's emotional state in public. It accentuates "human" side of a politician in contrast to one's institutional nature as an office-holder. As well, it helps a leader to position oneself closer to the followers and, in a similar fashion as it was with the use of inclusive personal pronouns, create the feeling of shared community.

Though expressions of feelings cannot be regarded as a sole and universal category on the basis of which the emotionality of a speaker may be evaluated, their frequencies in political communication still indicate the level of politician's extraversion. Other verbal transmitters of emotions include *I/we* ratio, adverbial intensifiers, direct and personal references (Weintraub 2003: 149).

As it was mentioned in the previous chapter, extraversion belongs to the Big Five personality traits. Extraverts are described as "talkative, assertive, active, energetic, outgoing, and sociable", whereas introverts are "quiet, reserved, shy, silent, withdrawn, and retiring" (Winter, Stewart, John, Klohnen and Duncan 1998: 237). Extroverted individuals readily accept external happenings, display a desire to influence the events and enjoy noisy companies, while introverts feel lonely and lost in large gatherings and hold aloof from external happenings (Winter et al. 1998: 237).

The category of feeling expressions required us to employ CDA approach as we counted not only the cases when president directly describes his personal feelings (Example 21), but also the cases he speaks about the feelings of Americans as a nation and America as a state, thus implying that as president of the country and as a representative of his nation he shares the feelings with his compatriots (Examples 22, 23 and 24):

(21) I've always had great *faith in* and *respect for* our space program (Reagan, "The Shuttle "Challenger" Disaster Address").

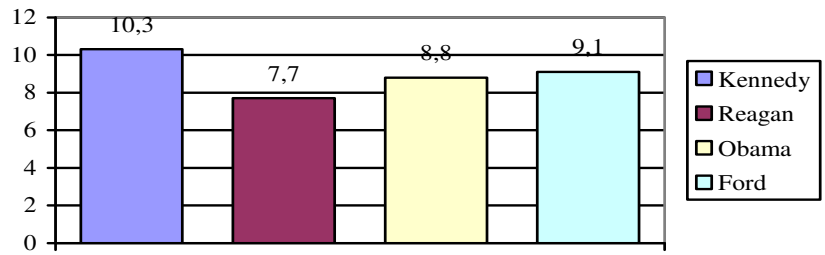
(22) What we have already achieved *gives us hope* – the *audacity* to *hope* – for what we can and must achieve tomorrow (Obama, "A More Perfect Union").

(23) The torch has been passed to a new generation of Americans […] *proud of* our ancient heritage, and *unwilling* to witness or permit the slow undoing of those human rights to which this nation has always been *committed*, and to which we are *committed* today at home and around the world (Kennedy, "The Inaugural Address").

(24) The United States *gladly* subscribes to this document because we subscribe to every one of these principles (Ford, "Helsinki Address").

The mean scores of expressions of feelings category are the following: John F. Kennedy – 10.3, Ronald Reagan – 7.7 and Barack Obama – 8.8. Non-charismatic Gerald Ford has similar overall mean score of the category – 9.1 per 1000 words (see Diagram 16).

Diagram 16. Overall mean frequencies of expressions of feelings (units per 1000 words)

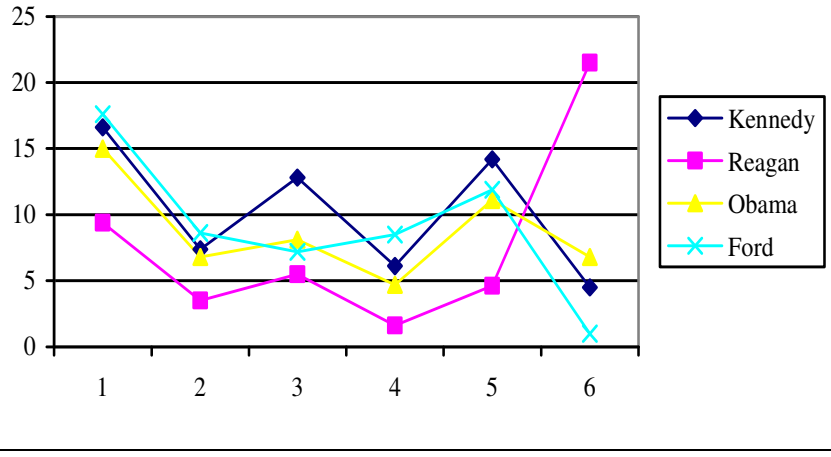


The difference of overall mean scores of feelings expressions between Kennedy and Reagan should not be perceived as an indicator of extraversion/introversion division. First of all, expressions of feelings are not the only category of analysis associated with emotional expressiveness and extraversion. Secondly, the aforementioned difference is rather small. Thirdly, Winter et al. (1998) acknowledge that, though both Reagan and Kennedy are extraverts, their motivational profiles are significantly different (Winter et al. 1998: 238). For John F. Kennedy extraversion is

combined with high affiliation motive, which results in unconflicted pursuit of wide-ranging interpersonal relationships, while extroverted Ronald Reagan has low affiliation motive, meaning that he is well-regarded and adept at interpersonal relations, but not dependent on them (Winter et al. 1998: 238).

Our research also demonstrates that, while the adverbial intensifiers appear to be a sort of constant in a politician's communication style, the variance of expressions of feelings is immense throughout the speeches (see Diagram 17).

Diagram 17. Frequencies (axis 0Y) of expressions of feelings in different speech sets (axis 0X)



John F. Kennedy has the highest score of expressions of feelings in his "Inaugural Address" (16.6) and "American University Commencement Address" (14.2) whereas the lowest scores on this category are in "Civil Right Address" (4.5) and "Cuban Missile Crisis Address" (6.1) (see Appendix IV, p. 190-191). The latter may be explained with the assumption that in times of severe crisis people expect their leader to be cool-headed and strong-willed and base his decisions on pure rationality.

Though Weintraub describes Ronald Reagan as the person possessing "cool, unflappable speaking style […] [which] was due, in part, to his infrequent use of expressions of feeling" (Weintraub 2003: 145), out of 24 speeches under study the highest score of expressions of feeling is in Reagan's "Shuttle "Challenger" Disaster Address" – 21.5:

(25) Nancy and I are *pained to core* by the tragedy of the shuttle Challenger (Reagan, "Shuttle "Challenger" Disaster Address").

(26) We know of your *anguish*. We share it (Reagan, "Shuttle "Challenger" Disaster Address").

Frequent use of feelings category may be interpreted as an endeavor to unite the nation at the moment of national tragedy and to express empathy to the people who lost their relatives. In the case of Ronald Reagan the effect from abundant use of expressions of feelings is amplified, taking into account emotionally reserved speaking style of the politician, which becomes evident after Diagram 17 analysis. If disregard Reagan's emotional "outburst" in "Shuttle "Challenger" Disaster Address", the frequency of expressions of feeling in his speeches is considerably lower than that of other two charismatic presidents and Gerald Ford.

Out of the three charismatic presidents Ronald Reagan also has the lowest score on expressions of feelings – 1.6 in "40th Anniversary of D-Day Address". This speech was delivered during presidential trip abroad, so it was not essential for Reagan to establish an emotional bond with his audience as he focused on the feelings of the veterans that were standing in front of him, but not on his own emotions.

Barack Obama used expressions of feelings most frequently in his "Inaugural Address" (15) and "Commencement Address at the University of Notre Dame" (11.1), while the lowest score in this category is in "Nobel Prize for Peace Acceptance Speech" (4.6).

Similarly, Gerald Ford has the highest score of expressions of feelings in "The Inaugural Address" (17.6) and in "Commencement Address at Chicago State University" (11.9). Ford's "1975 State of the Union Address" has the lowest frequency of the category – 1 per 1000 words, which may be partially explained with a rather routine nature of this kind of presidential speeches.

It should be mentioned that for all the four presidents the inaugurals contain relatively high scores of feeling expressions (John F. Kennedy – 16.6, Ronald Reagan – 9.4, Barack Obama – 15, Gerald Ford – 17.6). A possible explanation of this regularity may be that an inaugural is the first speech delivered by a politician in a new position of a national leader, so the emotional upheaval president experiences cannot be disguised and finds its manifestation in his communication style.

It is also possible to track certain pattern in the use of expressions of feelings in the university commencement addresses. Due to the fact that these speeches are delivered in front of a specific target audience: students and graduates, for whom emotional appeal often overshadows the pragmatic content of the speeches – frequent use of expressions of feelings facilitates establishing connection between politician and younger followers. That is why the commencement addresses under study have the second highest frequencies of expressions of feeling after the inaugural speeches – John F. Kennedy (14.2), Barack Obama (11.1), Gerald Ford (11.9).

Another observation concerns the variance of frequencies in the category of feeling expressions. Though all the three charismatic presidents have somewhat similar overall average scores on this category, throughout the speeches the frequencies vary greatly. Thus, we may conclude that the use of this category is context-bound, which makes it difficult to draw general assumptions about the leader's personality. Besides, there is no significant difference in the use of the category by charismatic presidents and Gerald Ford.

In general, our findings prove Proposition 6, according to which the speeches of charismatic presidents contain equally moderate scores of expressions of feelings. However, the use of the category, to a great extent, depends on the context in which the speech is delivered, so it is difficult to evaluate personality traits of a politician on the basis of overall mean scores only. Both charismatic and non-charismatic presidents tend to use the category more frequently in the inaugural and commencement addresses. In other cases the frequencies vary depending on the topic of the speech and type of the audience.

3.5. Use of qualifiers

In contrast to intensifying adverbs, qualifiers are used to de-intensify the statement, make it more vague and uncertain. In linguistic literature these units are also referred to as hedge words or fuzzy concepts (Lakoff 1973). Fraser defines hedging as "a rhetorical strategy, by which a speaker, using a linguistic device, can signal a lack of commitment to either the full semantic membership of an expression (propositional hedging), or the full commitment to the force of the speech act being conveyed (speech act hedging)" (Fraser 2010: 22).

Hedging may be used for a variety of reasons. First of all, it prevents speaker from sounding impolite, offensive or arrogant (Fraser 2010: 30). Besides, hedging may be employed when a speaker does not know the exact details, when he wants to avoid full responsibility for his words or when his aim is to avoid direct answer to an unpleasant question (Fraser 2010: 26). Moreover, it may be used to create an informal atmosphere or establish rapport with a stranger, to imply shared knowledge or appear conciliatory in order to appease opposition (Fraser 2010: 26, 31-32). Finally, deliberate hedging may be interpreted as the strategy to conceal the truth or convey the powerlessness and elicit sympathy (Fraser 2010: 32).

Since the interpretation of hedging highly depends on the communicative context, it is difficult to create clear-cut lists of hedge words (Fraser 2010: 23). Lakoff compiled a list of about 70 hedge constructions, having included *very*, *particularly*, *especially*, *really* and some other words, which are used for reinforcement (Lakoff 1973: 472). At present the notion of reinforcement is excluded from general understanding of hedging concept (Fraser 2010: 22).

Though hedges and qualifiers often fulfill the same pragmatic functions and include the same linguistic units, linguists treat phenomenon of hedging more broadly than qualifying is defined by Weintraub. For instance, examples of hedges in English also encompass impersonal pronouns (*one*, *it*), tag questions, agentless passive, concessive conjunctions (*whereas*, *even if*) etc.

There are some contradictions as for which units should fall into the category of qualifiers even among scholars, who treat qualifying separately from hedging. For example, Jeong (2005) enumerates *but*, *if*, *may*/*might*, *I think*, *often*, *probably*, and *though* as the seven most commonly used qualifiers (Jeong 2005: 6). Here the discrepancy arises as, according to Weintraub, *but* is the most commonly used retractor (also called adversative expression) (Weintraub 2003: 144). Inclusion of *if*, *though* and *often* into the category of qualifiers also would contradict the definition of the qualifiers category by Weintraub.

In our research we rely on Weintraub's approach to defining qualifiers. Among the most commonly used qualifiers in our research there are modal verbs *may*/*might*, phrases with the pronoun *some*, use of *should* in *if*-clause, epistemic verbs (*appear*, *seem*), modal adverbs (*perhaps*, *probably*), modal adjectives (*possible*, *probable*), adverbs (*nearly*, *almost*), construction *I think:*

(27) For while this year it *may* be a Catholic against whom the finger of suspicion is pointed, in other years it has been – and *may someday* be again – a Jew, or a Quaker, or a Unitarian, or a Baptist (Kennedy, "Houston Ministerial Association Address").

(28) If I *should* lose on the real issues, I shall return to my seat in the Senate (Kennedy, "Houston Ministerial Association Address").

(29) *Perhaps some* of you read recently about the Lubbock school case (Reagan, "The Evil Empire").

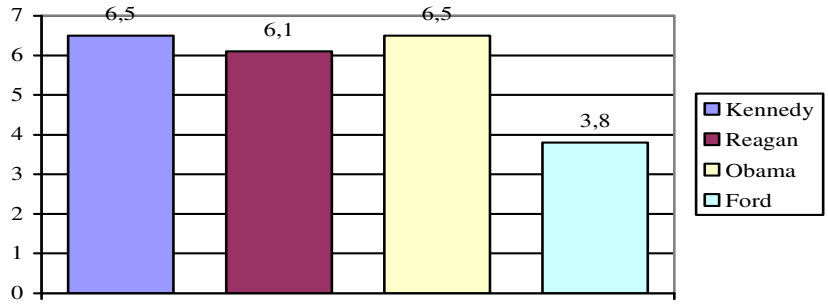
(30) *I think* I understand how Abraham Lincoln felt (Reagan, "The Evil Empire").

(31) It would *seem* that *someplace* there must be *some* overhead (Reagan, "A Time for Choosing").

(32) […] that includes *nearly* 7 million American Muslims in our country today (Obama, "A New Beginning").

Low scores of the qualifiers category are positively related to perceptions of leader's decisiveness. Our current study demonstrates that the scores of this category for the three charismatic American presidents are identical: John F. Kennedy – 6.5, Ronald Reagan – 6.1, Barack Obama – 6.5 (see Diagram 18).

Diagram 18. Overall mean frequencies of qualifiers (units per 1000 words)

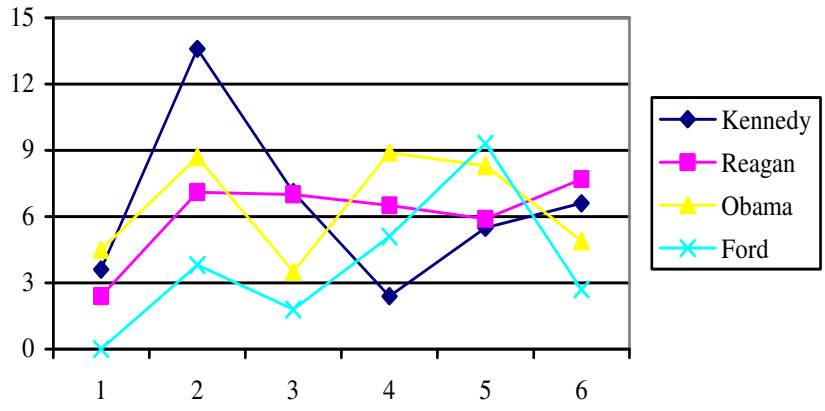


Gerald Ford uses qualifiers less frequently – his overall mean score is 3.8. In Weintraub's (2003) study the mean score of qualifiers for seven post-WWII American presidents is measured at the level of 11 units per 1000 words.

There may be two possible explanations of Ford's scoring less than charismatic presidents on the category of qualifiers. First of all, extremely low amount of qualifiers indicates a rigidity of a political leader and significantly decreases space for verbal maneuvering. Secondly, though Gerald Ford is not regarded as a charismatic politician, he may still possess such personality trait as decisiveness.

It should be mentioned that under stress people tend to use qualifiers more frequently, so prepared speeches, which are the subject of our current research, are supposed to contain relatively low scores of this category. John F. Kennedy has the lowest scores of qualifiers in "The Inaugural Address" (3.6) and in "Cuban Missile Crisis Address" (2.4) (see Diagram 19). The lowest score for Ronald Reagan is in his first "Inaugural Address" as well – 2.4 per 1000 words (see Appendix IV, p. 190-191). Barack Obama uses qualifiers the least frequently in his "Inaugural Address" (4.5) and in "A New Beginning" speech, delivered at Cairo University (3.5).

Diagram 19. Frequencies (axis 0Y) of qualifiers in different speech sets (axis 0X)



As an inaugural is the first speech delivered by a president in the office, low scores of qualifiers in the inaugurals are explained with the president's need to position himself as a strong leader, who is confident in every word he utters, is ready to take decisive actions and has a clear vision of the policies he is to pursue. The same logic applies when political leaders need to deal with crisis situations which bear considerable threat to national security as it was the case with Cuban Missile Crisis.

Gerald Ford follows similar pattern in the infrequent use of qualifiers. His "Inaugural Address" does not have any qualifier, whereas second lowest result of the category is in "Helsinki Address before the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe" – 1.8 units per 1000 words.

The highest mean scores of qualifiers are in Kennedy's "Houston Ministerial Association Speech" (13.6), in Reagan's "Shuttle "Challenger" Tragedy Address" (7.7) and in Obama's "Nobel Prize for Peace Acceptance Speech" (8.9). High qualifiers scores in the speeches delivered in the times when politicians were not yet elected as presidents (13.6 – John F. Kennedy, 7.1 – Ronald Reagan, 8.7 – Barack Obama) demonstrate lower decisiveness levels of politicians while running as candidates. It goes in line with Williams et al.'s claim that "for the incumbent, decisiveness and attributed charisma share considerable variance in follower evaluations […] [whereas] for challengers […] decisiveness and charisma may still be relatively separate cognitive categorizations" (Williams et al. 2009: 81).

The highest level of qualifiers for Gerald Ford is in his "Commencement Address at Chicago State University" – 9.3. Obama's "Commencement Address at the University of Notre Dame" also contains rather high score of qualifiers – 8.3, whereas the use of the category in Kennedy's "American University Commencement Address" is rather moderate – 5.5.

In general, the use of qualifiers/hedges permits a proposition to be recognized as an opinion instead of a clear affirmation, thus offering room for negotiation and discussion (Vázquez and Giner 2008: 174). It contributes to flexibility of communicative style of politicians. Our research proves that the speeches of charismatic leaders contain similar scores of qualifiers, which is significantly lower than the average score of post-WWII American presidents. Low to moderate use of qualifiers allows charismatic politicians to be perceived as decisive leaders, at the same time leaving enough room for debating and reconsideration of previously made statements. Nevertheless, qualifiers fulfill an important pragmatic function as a rhetorical strategy. Their total elimination or extremely low scores in political speeches will be counterproductive as it will result in a categorical and rigid image of a politician, while not compensating it by increased perceptions of decisiveness. The scores of qualifiers tend to be low in the inaugural addresses and in the speeches which deal with security threats for the country. At the same time, candidate speeches of charismatic leaders are likely to contain high scores of the category.

3.6. Use of retractors

Qualifiers and retractors fulfill similar functions in communication – both are aimed at weakening the statements. It is one of the reasons why certain retractors are categorized as qualifiers or hedging constructions by some scholars (e.g. Jeong (2005) classifies *though* and *but* as qualifiers as well as Fraser (2010) treats *whereas* and *even if* as hedges). However, following Weintraub's approach, we regard retractors as a separate category of analysis.

The most commonly used retractor is the conjunction *but*. Other examples of the category include expressions such as *however*, *nevertheless*, *although*, *though*, *despite the fact that*, *on the other hand*, *on the other end*, *contrary to*, *while* (in the meaning of *though*), and words *yet* and *still* at the beginning of the sentence.

Primarily, retractors are used to reverse previously spoken statements and provide an alternative viewpoint. Retractors are also widely used to "achieve "pseudo-consensus," an apparent but not genuine agreement with another speaker's point of view" (Weintraub 2003: 144). The examples of pseudo-consensus would be:

(33) Freedom has many difficulties and democracy is not perfect. *But* we have never had to put a wall up to keep our people in (Kennedy, "Ich bin ein Berliner").

(34) We must maintain defenses of unassailable strength. *Yet* we seek peace; so we must strive to reduce arms on both sides (Reagan, "Brandenburg Gate Address").

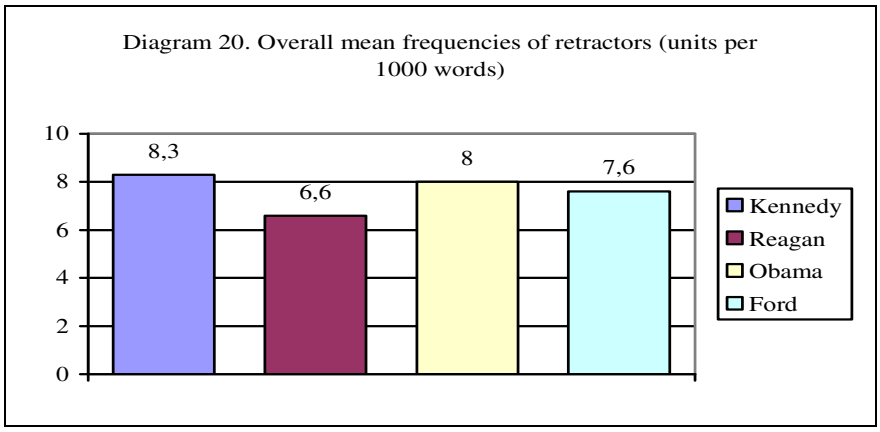
(35) Its power [power of market] to generate wealth and expand freedom is unmatched, *but* this crisis has reminded us that without a watchful eye, the market can spin out of control" (Obama, "Inaugural Address").

It should be mentioned that pseudo-consensus is an efficient, sophisticated and widely used rhetorical strategy during the discussion. If a person opposes another person's viewpoint, stating it plainly and unequivocally will cause only argument and heated debate. Contrarily, through the use of retractors a speaker has an opportunity to support the position of his or her opponent, bridge the gap between two points of view and only then repudiate what has been said by the opponent. The use of retractors

allows people "not only to say what they mean but to mean the opposite as well, without ruffling the smooth surface of life or discourse" (Kress and Hodge 1979: 150, cited in Gastil 1992: 483).

What is more, retractors may add up stylistic coloring to political speeches as they are often used in juxtaposition of two words or statements, which in rhetoric and communication theory is referred to as *contrast* (Den Hartog and Verburg 1997; Clark and Greatbatch 2011) and in stylistics is defined by the term *antithesis*.

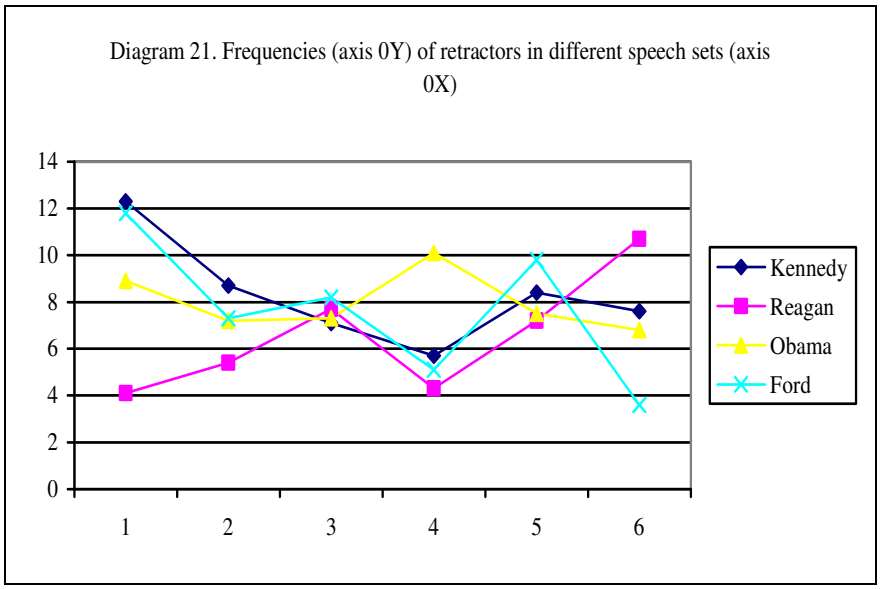
The speeches of John F. Kennedy, Ronald Reagan and Barack Obama contain similar mean frequencies of retractors: 8.3, 6.6 and 8 respectively (see Diagram 20). According to Weintraub (2003), the mean score of retractors for the first seven post-WWII presidents is 6.5 units per 1000 words.



In the speeches of charismatic presidents the frequencies of retractors do not fluctuate drastically, depending on the topic of the speech or the type of the audience. For instance, in 10 out of 18 speeches the frequencies of retractors range from 5 to 8, which may be considered as a moderate use of the category (a detailed summary of retractors data is provided in Appendix IV, p. 190-191). Standard deviation is 2.2 for John F. Kennedy, 2.5 for Ronald Reagan and 1.3 for Barack Obama while the range indices are 6.6, 6.6 and 3.3 respectively. The above mentioned characteristics support the conclusion about a relative independence of the category use from the contextual factors.

It should be noted that the overall mean score of retractors in the speeches of Gerald Ford is similar to those of charismatic presidents – 7.6. However, the range of scores (8.2) and standard deviation (3) is bigger for Gerald Ford in comparison with charismatic presidents.

John F. Kennedy used retractors most frequently in his “Inaugural Address” – 12.3 whereas the lowest score of the category for him is in “Cuban Missile Crisis Address” – 5.7 (see Diagram 21). Again, relatively low use of retractors in the latter may be perceived as the intention to position oneself as a decisive leader who has a clear solution for the security crisis the nation faces and who will adhere to the course of action he announces.



Ronald Reagan used retractors most frequently in “Shuttle “Challenger” Tragedy Address” – 10.7, while his “Inaugural Address” contains the lowest score of the category – 4.1.

The mean scores of retractors in the speeches of Barack Obama have insignificant variance. The only exception is “Nobel Prize for Peace Acceptance Speech”, which has the highest score of the category – 10.1. The lowest score of the category is 6.8 units per 1000 words in “President-Elect Victory Speech”.

Gerald Ford uses retractors least frequently in “1975 State of the Union Address” – 3.6, whereas the highest score of the category is in his “Inaugural Address” – 11.8. Contrary to the scores of charismatic presidents, Gerald Ford uses retractors moderately (from 5 to 8 units per 1000 words) only in two speeches out of six under study.

It should be noted that all the four presidents under study have practically identical scores of retractors in the speeches delivered abroad. Thus, the mean score of the category in “Ich bin ein Berliner” (Kennedy) is 7.1, in “Brandenburg Gate Address”

(Reagan) – 7.7, in "A New Beginning" (Obama) – 7.3 and in "Helsinki Address" (Ford) – 8.2. Moderate use of retractors in the above mentioned speeches adds more diplomatic style to the communication of the presidents, allowing them to make clear statements, at the same time leaving space for maneuvering. When there arises a need to deliver a sharp and explicit message to the international community, the amount of retractors decreases, as it was the case with "Cuban Missile Crisis Address" by John F. Kennedy (mean score of retractors – 5.7) and "40th Anniversary of D-Day Address" by Ronald Reagan (mean score of retractors – 4.3).

To conclude, our findings prove that the speeches of both charismatic and non-charismatic leaders have similar frequencies of retractors and that these frequencies are moderate. A rather stable use of the category by charismatic speakers indicates that the category does not heavily depend on the context in which a speech is uttered. At the same time the moderate use of retractors characterizes American presidents as emotionally controlled personalities, able to reconsider their own decisions in case of necessity.

3.7. Use of explainers

Explainers are employed to rationalize the message, demonstrate causal connections between particular statements or events and justify one's point of view. While expressions of feelings and intensifying adverbs characterize the emotional component of political communication, analysis of explainers may provide scholars with information about its rational part.

While the most widely used explainer is *because*, in our research, under the category of explainers, we also count the following expressions: *that is why*, *therefore*, *since* and *for* in the meaning of *because*, *so* in the meaning of *therefore*:

(36) Freedom in America is indivisible from the freedom to practice one's religion. *That is why* there is a mosque in every state in our union (Obama, "A New Beginning").

(37) Our problems are manmade; *therefore*, they can be solved by man (Kennedy, "American University Commencement Address").

(38) *Since* this is Notre Dame I think we should talk not only about your accomplishments in the classroom, but also in the competitive arena (Obama, "Commencement Address at the University of Notre Dame").

(39) Divided there is little we can do – *for* we dare not meet a powerful challenge at odds and split asunder (Kennedy, "The Inaugural Address").

(40) *So* as we begin, let us take inventory (Reagan, "The Inaugural Address").

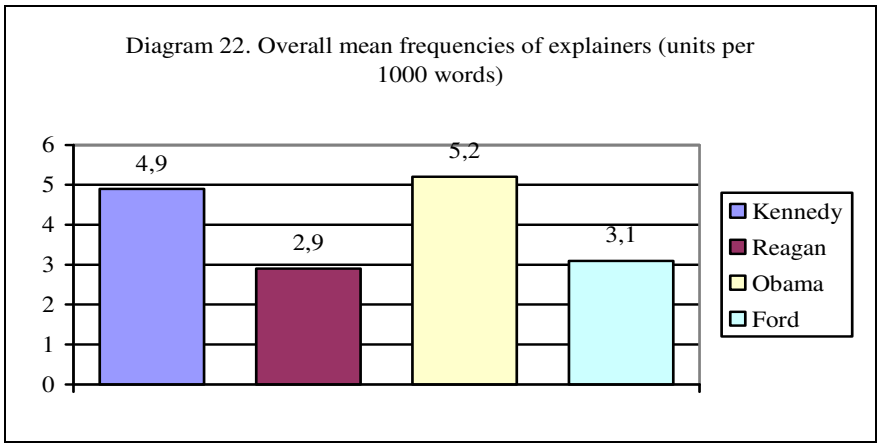
Due to the fact that *for*, *so* and *since* may have different semantic functions in the utterance, there is a need to conduct manually-coded, but not only computer-based analysis with a proper consideration of the context. For instance, the cases, when *since* and *for* are used for displaying temporal connections, are not included into the category of explainers:

(41) The pursuit of disarmament has been an effort of this Government *since* the 1920's (Kennedy, "American University Commencement Address").

Besides, explainers are widely used at the beginning of the sentence, so they may be unintentionally repeated when the speaker is interrupted. These cases are also non-indicative of the psychological characteristics of the speaker, so they should be disregarded. For example, in his "Commencement Address at the University of Notre Dame", due to the interruptions of the audience, Barack Obama repeats *since* 5 times in what was supposed to be one sentence.

The mean score of explainers for the first seven post-WWII American presidents is 5.5 units per 1000 words (Weintraub 2003). The average frequency of explainers in the speeches of John F. Kennedy is 4.9, in the speeches of Ronald Reagan – 2.9 and in the speeches of Barack Obama – 5.2 (see Diagram 22).

In general, in 13 out of 18 speeches the mean scores of explainers are less than 5.5 (complete quantitative data on the use of explainers in the speeches of the presidents under study may be found in Appendix IV, p. 190-191). It is indicative of a rather stable tendency for the charismatic leaders to use explainers less frequently in their speeches.



The overall mean score of explainers in the speeches of Gerald Ford is 3.1. At the same time all of his speeches under study contain lower than average level of explainers. We may conclude that charismatic leaders should not avoid reasoning in the speeches, though it was suggested by Le Bon (1952). Contrarily, it is more important to balance emotional and rational components of the speeches in the way that one's communication style does not sound too apologetic or too categorical. The speeches by John F. Kennedy and Barack Obama demonstrate such moderation, whereas Ronald Reagan and Gerald Ford project an image of more rigid and decisive politicians, for whom decision-making process does not encompass extensive discussions.

The tendency becomes more vivid if to combine the analysis of qualifiers, retractors and explainers. In comparison with John F. Kennedy and Barack Obama, both Ronald Reagan and Gerald Ford have lower scores of qualifiers, which indicate higher levels of decisiveness (Kennedy and Obama – 6.5, Reagan – 6.2, Ford – 3.8), lower scores of retractors, which are associated with inability to re-consider previous decisions (Kennedy – 8.3, Obama – 8 versus Reagan – 6.6 and Ford – 7.6), and lower scores of explainers, which reveal rather categorical nature of their personalities (Kennedy – 4.9, Obama – 5.2 versus Reagan – 2.9 and Ford – 3.1).

Such a consistent pattern made us shift perspective on the presidential discourse. We assume that the above mentioned personality traits may be linked not to the charismatic appeal of politicians, but to their party affiliation. A number of empirical studies (e.g. Benoit 2004; Jarvis 2004; Cho and Benoit 2005; Cho and Benoit 2006) prove that partisanship influences political discourse features not only in terms of its ideological content, but also in terms of deeper psycholinguistic structures. According to Jarvis (2004), Democrats need to be "careful with their discourse in the face of many

loosely organized cadres of heterogeneous interests" whereas Republicans are "constrained in a different manner, required to bespeak more confident claims prized by a more unified group" (Jarvis 2004: 414).

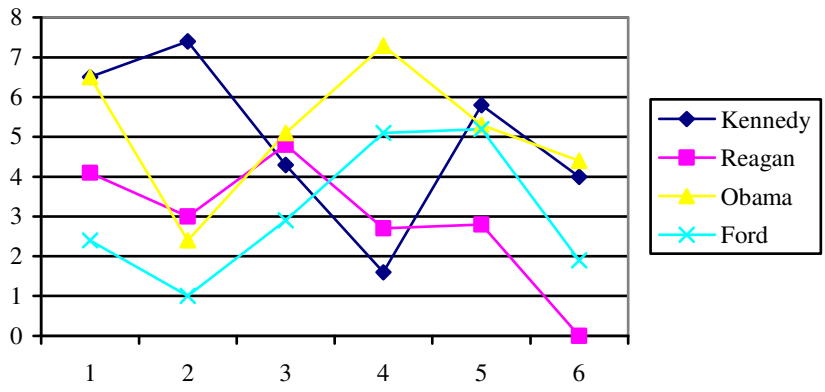
Benoit's (2004) study reveals even more differences in Democratic versus Republican discourse. Thus, Democratic candidates discuss policy more than Republicans whereas Republicans tend to devote more attention to character in their speeches. Such a division is natural as Republican politicians "embrace the philosophy of a limited role for government and of heightened individual responsibility" (Benoit 2004: 92). That is why they stress governmental policy less than Democratic politicians, who often look to the government to solve societal problems (Benoit 2004: 92). In terms of policy there are typically Democratic (education, health care, environment) and typically Republican (taxation, foreign policy, crime) issues. In terms of character utterances the Democrats employ more empathy words (e.g., *cares for voters, compassionate, understands voters*), and linguistic units associated with drive (e.g., *hard-working, determined, strong*). On the other hand, Republicans use more words related to sincerity (e.g., *consistency, honesty, trust*) and morality (e.g., *ethical, just, moral*).

Since Republicans are less prone to debate over their policy issues and they often appeal to the moral values of the followers, which are dogmatic and do not require extensive explication, the representatives of this party will tend to be less explanatory in their communication style. Hence Ronald Reagan and Gerald Ford, who were Republican American presidents, have lower scores of explainers in their speeches than Democratic John F. Kennedy and Barack Obama.

Furthermore, based on the results of our study, we may conclude that there exists a certain dependence of the frequency of explainers on the context, in which a speech is delivered. In its turn, it influences the variance of explainers mean scores. For example, the mean scores of explainers in the speeches of John F. Kennedy range from 1.6 in "Cuban Missile Crisis Address" to 7.4 – in "Houston Ministerial Association Address" (see Diagram 23). In "Cuban Missile Crisis Address" the last thing one would expect from the president of a nation under threat is an explanatory style. Due to the fact that the threat is evident and tangible and the president is expected to come up with a detailed plan of actions, but not their justification, the amount of explainers in this speech is low. On the other hand, "Houston Ministerial Association Address" is not a presidential speech, but an address of a candidate who runs for the highest office in the

country. Since John F. Kennedy was the first Catholic to be elected as U.S. president, in his address he tried to explain why his religious beliefs should not influence the final vote and perception of his candidacy by the public. It correlates with a high score of explainers in this speech.

Diagram 23. Frequencies (axis 0Y) of explainers in different speech sets (axis 0X)



Ronald Reagan uses explainers less frequently than John F. Kennedy and Barack Obama. The mean scores of explainers in his speeches range from 0 in "Shuttle "Challenger" Tragedy Address" to 4.8 – in "Brandenburg Gate Address". "Shuttle "Challenger" Tragedy Address" is the only speech out of 24, in which no explainer was used. It may be explained with a small length of the speech (652 words) and extreme emotionality of the address as the president was speaking to the public not on some political or security issues, but rather he was trying to re-unite the nation in the moment of grief and express his condolences to the families who were directly affected by the tragedy. Contrarily, "Brandenburg Gate Address" contains Reagan's appeal to demolish Berlin Wall and re-unite East and West Germany into one country, so relatively high score of explainers in this speech may be viewed as an attempt to justify these actions.

In terms of the use of explainers, Barack Obama's style is similar to John F. Kennedy's. The mean scores of the category in his speeches range from 2.4 in "A More Perfect Union" address to 7.4 – in "Nobel Prize for Peace Acceptance Speech". Awarding Barack Obama with Nobel Prize for Peace after less than one year of his tenure as U.S. president and at the time, when American troops were still at war in two countries, caused a lot of controversy and debate worldwide. Frequent use of explainers

may be interpreted both as an indicator of apologetic style and an attempt to justify U.S. military actions on the world scene. The low amount of explainers in "A More Perfect Union" address, to a certain degree, would contradict our previous conclusions on John F. Kennedy. In many ways "A More Perfect Union" address is similar to Kennedy's "Houston Ministerial Association Address". It is a candidate speech, in which Barack Obama mentions that his candidacy is not the most conventional one (he was the first Afro-American to be elected as U.S. president), and in which he comments on the racially-charged remarks of his former pastor Jeremiah Wright, which put the whole Obama's campaign under threat (Rowland and Jones 2011). However, instead of rationalizing and using an explanatory style, Barack Obama shifts the focus of his speech and appeals to the need of re-uniting all the Americans, regardless of the color of their skin or ethnicity, in the face of economic crisis and social security issues. Hence, employment of such a strategy may justify a low amount of explainers in this speech.

In the speeches by Gerald Ford the mean scores of explainers range from 1 in "Republican Nomination Address" to 5.2 – in "Commencement Address at Chicago State University". It should be noted that all three university commencement addresses in our research have identically moderate scores of explainers (Kennedy – 5.8, Obama – 5.3 and Ford – 5.2).

To sum up, our findings do not support Proposition 9, which argues that the speeches of charismatic presidents contain equally low scores of explainers. Though overall mean scores of explainers and respective scores in majority of speeches are lower than in the speeches of the first seven post-WWII U.S. presidents, no clear connection between charismatic appeal and the use of explainers may be traced. Moreover, on the basis of explainer analysis we may draw a clear distinction between Gerald Ford and Ronald Reagan versus Barack Obama and John Kennedy. The last two tend to use explainers moderately, trying to balance emotionality and rationality in their speeches, while Reagan and Ford are more categorical, which is rooted in specific features of Republican party discourse. In general, we may say that explanatory or apologetic style is not typical of charismatic leaders. However, the frequencies of explainers may be modified in accordance with the purpose of a speech or its topic. It may be interpreted as a capability of charismatic politicians to accommodate their communication style to the final aims of communication and as an indicator of the charismatic leader's rhetorical flexibility.

3.8. Use of creative expressions and other expressive means

Unlike other categories of psychological content analysis, creative and colorful expressions do not reveal much information about the psychological characteristics of a speaker. The only personality trait the scholars may draw inferences about on the basis of the use of creative expressions is the creativity of a politician. However, the credit for inventing the most successful and memorable expressive means and overall stylistic structuring of the speeches usually should be claimed for speech-writers, rather than politicians. Nevertheless, the study of expressive means in the political speeches is important as it shows the mechanisms a politician uses to attract followers' attention to the content of the speeches by careful crafting of their form and the degree to which the politician can boost favorability ratings through skillful use of imagery.

Naidoo and Lord (2008) regard imagery as an important rhetorical device and define it as "content that elicits sensory experiences such as mental images in listeners" as well as "strong emotional reactions, high levels of attention, comprehension and memory elaboration" (Naidoo and Lord 2008: 283).

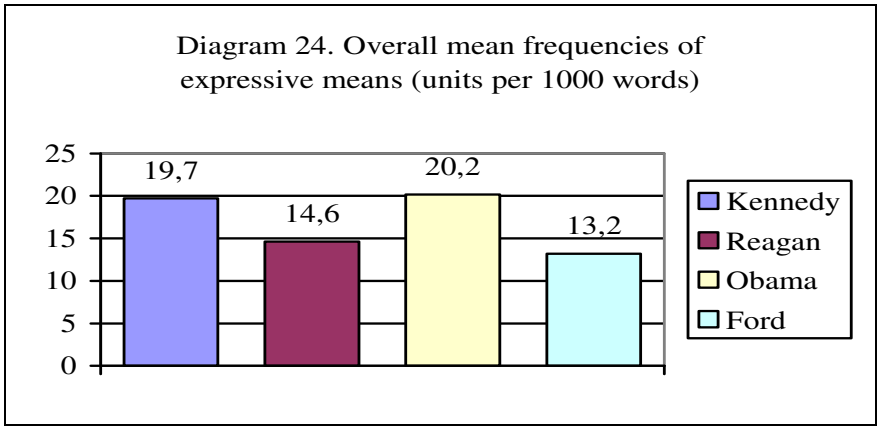
Weintraub distinguishes three ways of producing creative expressions: through creating new words, through making new syntactic associations, meaning putting words together in novel ways; and through the use of original metaphors (Weintraub 2003: 151).

However, the variety of stylistic devices a politician may employ is extensive. A speaker may resort to the use of phonetic stylistic devices (alliteration, rhythm, and rhyme), lexical stylistic devices (metaphor, metonymy, irony, zeugma, simile, epithet, oxymoron, and antonomasia) and syntactical stylistic devices (parallelism, chiasmus, repetition, antithesis, enumeration).

Our findings prove that the speeches of charismatic politicians contain higher mean scores of expressive means (John F. Kennedy – 19.7 units per 1000 words, Ronald Reagan – 14.6, Barack Obama – 20.2 versus 13.2 of Gerald Ford) (see Diagram 24). Higher mean scores of expressive means reveal higher degree of creativity in the personalities of charismatic presidents.

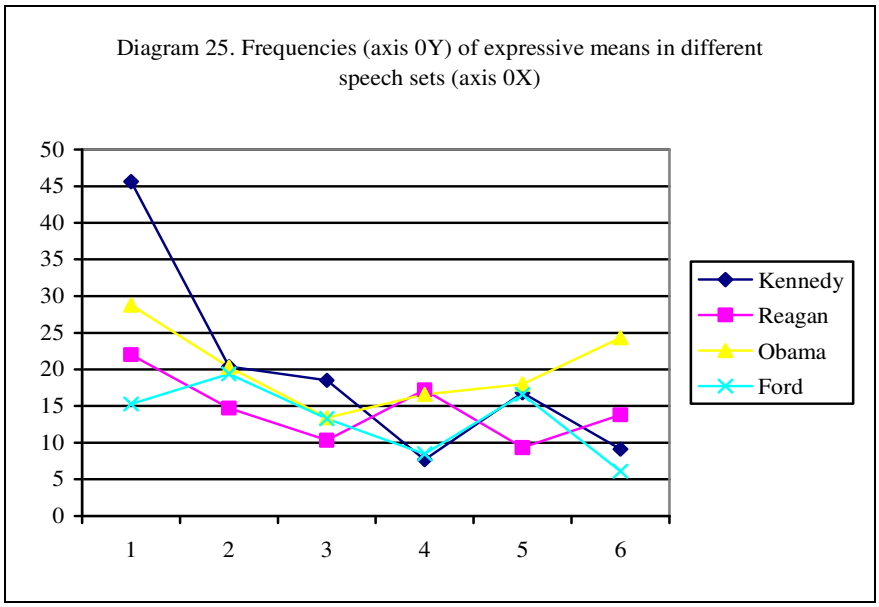
Many scholars (Hogan, Curphy and Hogan 1994; Judge, Picollo and Kosalka 2009) agree that creativity has positive correlations with intelligence, intellectual brilliance and openness to experience. In this regard it is interesting how our present findings match Simonton's (2006) assessment of American presidents with regard to the

above mentioned personality attributes. For instance, when corrected estimates of IQ scores for the ages 18-26 are taken, Kennedy, Reagan and Ford may be ranked according to the pattern which is similar to their use of expressive means. Thus, John F. Kennedy has an IQ score of 159.8, Ronald Reagan – 141.9 and Gerald Ford – 140.4 (see Table 1. Original and Imputed Scores for 42 Presidents, Simonton 2006: 516). What is more, John F. Kennedy's openness to experience is measured at 82% while the respective score for Ronald Reagan is 10% and for Gerald Ford – 8%. Similarly, Ford's intellectual brilliance is -0.6 whereas Reagan scores 0.4 in this category and Kennedy has a high index of 1.8. It should be noted that Barack Obama was not included into the study as at that time he was not yet elected as U.S. president.



As it was the case with the use of explainers, it is possible to track a clear distinction in the use of expressive means by the representatives of different parties. Being conservative by their ideological nature, Republicans are unlikely to foster innovative ideas, be open to new experiences and experiment with unconventional ways of achieving their goals. Conversely, Democrats are liberal and less skeptical about implementing unusual and daring visions. This tendency finds its reflection in the patterns of expressive means usage. Democrats' ability to go far in experimenting with new forms and rhetorical strategies results in higher overall mean scores of expressive means in the speeches of John F. Kennedy and Barack Obama.

If to analyze speeches separately, charismatic presidents have the highest mean scores of expressive means in their inaugural addresses (Kennedy – 45.6, Reagan – 22, Obama – 28.8), while for Gerald Ford the expressive means score in the inaugural is only third highest – 15.3 (see Diagram 25).



Taking into account a wide variety of expressive means and the fact that their scrupulous study is unlikely to provide us with better understanding of leaders' psychological nature, in the further course of the research we will not measure the mean frequencies of each and every stylistic device in each and every speech. Our principal goal is to define the general tendency in the use of expressive means by charismatic and non-charismatic speakers. That is why we will pay attention to a total amount of particular stylistic devices identified and measure their mean scores dividing them by a total amount of words in the speeches of a particular president.

3.8.1. Use of metaphors

One of the most common image-producing stylistic devices is metaphor. Metaphor is a result of transference of the name of one object to another object based upon their similarity (Yefimov and Yasinetska 2004: 54). According to Den Hartog and Verburg (1997), metaphors are used for vividness, clarification, or to express certain emotions (Den Hartog and Verburg 1997: 364). Being a tool for interpreting and illustrating reality, they appeal to various senses and engage emotion, intellect, imagination and values, the combination of which ensures a more vivid experience for the listener (Den Hartog and Verburg 1997: 364).

In general, charismatic speakers tend to use metaphors more often than non-charismatic Ford. In the speeches of John F. Kennedy (total amount of words – 11583), we have identified 58 metaphors, which makes the mean score of 5 metaphors per 1000 words. In the speeches of Ronald Reagan (total amount of words – 16 207), the amount

of metaphors is 89 or 5.5 metaphors per 1000 words (Appendix V (p. 192-194) presents mean scores of expressive means as well as amount of various stylistic devices identified in each speech under study). In the speeches of Barack Obama (total amount of words – 23497) we have identified 142 metaphors or the mean score of 6 units per 1000 words. A total amount of words in Ford's speeches under study is 13182. Since we have identified 41 metaphors, the mean score is 3.1 per 1000 words.

However, the quality of metaphors (whether they are trite or genuine, whether the similarity between two concepts is obvious, whether the image they elicit is bright and memorable), play even more important role than their quantity. The examples of metaphors are:

(42) Those who foolishly sought power by *riding the back of the tiger ended up inside* (Kennedy, "The Inaugural Address").

(43) We have so many people who can't *see a fat man standing beside a thin one* (Reagan, "A Time for Choosing").

(44) With hope and virtue, let us *brave once more the icy currents*, and *endure what storms may come* (Obama, "The Inaugural Address").

(45) Some people, unfortunately, are *outside the boat*, so to speak, *struggling in stormy waters* (Ford, "Commencement Address at Chicago State University").

3.8.2. Use of contrasts

While metaphor belongs to lexical stylistic devices, syntax may also be efficiently used to "construct" the speech properly and facilitate the comprehension of the message embedded in it. Among the most frequently used syntactic stylistic devices there are enumerations (lists), antitheses (contrasts) and parallel constructions.

Antithesis is a figure of contrast which is realized through confrontation of at least two separate phrases, which are semantically opposite (Yefimov and Yasinetska 2004: 68-69). Aristotle defines antithesis as a verbal structure that places contrasted or opposed terms in parallel or balanced cola or phrases, and opposites are most knowable and more knowable when put besides each other (Pu 2007: 210). The effect received by a speaker is an additional emphasis for a statement. Moreover, Atkinson (1984) states that contrast is the most effective rhetorical device in eliciting applause, as the completion point of the contrast can be anticipated by the audience (Den Hartog and Verburg 1997: 367).

Similarly, Heritage and Greatbatch (1986) regard the antithesis as "one of the most basic resources of an orator", since "it naturally embodies both of the elements – emphasis and completion point projection – which are […] central to applause generation" (Heritage and Greatbatch 1986: 122). Political messages conveyed with the use of contrasts are naturally emphasized because, in effect, the core assertion is normally made twice – in a "positive" and a "negative" form (Heritage and Greatbatch 1986: 122).

The overall mean frequencies of antitheses for charismatic presidents are the following: Kennedy – 3.2 (37 units), Reagan – 1.8 (29 units), Obama – 2.8 (65 units). At the same time the respective score for Gerald Ford is 1.9 (25 units). The examples of contrasts are:

(46) Today, I may be the victim, but tomorrow it may be you (Kennedy, "Houston Ministerial Association Address").

(47) The future doesn't belong to the fainthearted; it belongs to the brave (Reagan, "Shuttle "Challenger" Tragedy Address").

(48) People will judge you on what you can build, not what you destroy (Obama, "The Inaugural Address").

(49) Detente is an evolutionary process, not a static condition (Ford, "Helsinki Address").

3.8.3. Use of parallel constructions

In the course of analysis we encountered certain difficulties in distinguishing between repetition and parallel constructions, as the formal nature of both devices is quite alike. Parallelism is a syntactic device of producing two or more syntactic structures according to the same syntactic pattern (Yefimov and Yasinetska 2004: 80). It performs a number of functions in political communication: it creates rhythm, underlines important information and is used to make speech more persuasive (Yefimov and Yasinetska 2004: 81). At the same time parallel constructions are often employed not at a sentence level, but at a paragraph one, thus they may be effectively used to create a "skeleton" of the whole speech, as it was the case with "Ich bin ein Berliner" speech by John F. Kennedy:

(50) *There are* many people in the world who really don't understand, or say they don't, what is the great issue between the free world and the Communist world. *Let them come to Berlin. There are* some who say that communism is the wave of the future. *Let them come to Berlin.* And *there are* some who say, in Europe and elsewhere, we can work with the Communists. *Let them come to Berlin.* And *there are* even a few who say that it is true that communism is an evil system, but it permits us to make economic progress. *Let them come to Berlin* (Kennedy, "Ich bin ein Berliner").

Pu (2007) identifies parallelism as "a powerful rhetorical device to convince readers, because elements in the sentence that are alike in form are taken as a signal that they are fulfilling the same role in the expression" (Pu 2007: 210). The persuasive effect of this stylistic device is based on three processes: equivalent elements in structure attract attention to their equivalence, the audience experiences a sense of emotional, intellectual or sensory pressure, at the same time parallelism keeps the listeners on track (Pu 2007: 210).

Mean score of parallelisms in the speeches of John F. Kennedy is 2.2 (26 units), in the speeches of Ronald Reagan – 0.9 (14 units), Barack Obama – 1.9 (44 units). Non-charismatic Gerald Ford tends to use this stylistic device less frequently – 1 unit per 1000 words (a total of 13 units). At the same time we have not identified any parallel construction in three out of six speeches of this American president.

Other examples of parallel constructions used are:

(51) *We will never* compromise our principles and standards. *We will never* give away our freedom. *We will never* abandon our belief in God. And *we will never* stop searching for a genuine peace (Reagan, "Evil Empire").

(52) *They do not* recognize borders. *They do not* see color. *They do not* target specific ethnic groups (Obama, "Commencement Address at the University of Notre Dame").

(53) *This Nation is* sound, *this Nation is* secure, *this Nation is* on the march to full economic recovery (Ford, "Republican Nomination Address").

3.8.4. Use of lists

Clark and Greatbatch (2011) identify lists as another common rhetorical technique of charismatic politicians. In stylistics lists are also referred to as enumeration, which is "naming of objects so that there appears a chain of homogeneous parts of the sentence" (Yefimov and Yasinetska 2004: 78). Enumeration increases the expressiveness of the speech, makes it more dynamic and informative (Yefimov and Yasinetska 2004: 78).

Our study demonstrates that Gerald Ford employs lists more frequently than John F. Kennedy and Ronald Reagan (5.1 versus 3.3 and 2.5), though he yields to Barack Obama (5.7) in this respect.

It should be noted that various lists may have different expressive power. When enumeration is too long, its positive effect on listeners' perceptions of a politician is highly dubious, as the tone of the speech becomes monotonous and mundane and the audience is lost in the amount of information provided by a speaker. Such extensive lists are typical for the speeches of Gerald Ford:

> (54) They call for *a freer flow of information, ideas, and people; greater scope for the press, cultural and educational exchange, family reunification, the right to travel and to marriage between nationals of different states; and for the protection of the priceless heritage of our diverse cultures* (Ford, "Helsinki Address").

Similarly, we believe that the expressiveness of lists is diminished when they are composed of concrete notions instead of abstract ones: *markets, energy, food, and vital raw materials* (Ford, "1975 State of the Union Address") versus *prosperity, peace, and public trust* (Ford, "Republican Nomination Address"). However, in our research we have identified lists according to a formal principle, disregarding the expressive value of different kinds of enumeration.

One of the most efficient kinds of enumeration is three-part lists or triads. Gastil (1992) names three-part lists as well as climactic contrastive pairs as two syntactic stylistic devices, which "serve as claptraps, readily cuing applause and approbation from an audience" (Gastil 1992: 483-484).

Den Hartog and Verburg (1997) cite Atkinson, who claims that "one of the main attractions of three-part lists is that they have an air of unity or completeness about

them", due to the fact that "three is the minimum number of elements required to show that there is indeed a list of similar items" (two consecutive items would show the possibility of a link to a more general class of phenomena, which is confirmed by the third item) (Den Hartog and Verburg 1997: 368). Once this common thread is established, less and less is gained by adding more items (they become redundant), which means that three is both the minimal number to unambiguously establish a connection and the maximally economic number for doing so without becoming excessive (Den Hartog and Verburg 1997: 368).

According to Heritage and Greatbatch (1986), the three-part list combines resources by which a political message is emphasized and through which its completion point can be anticipated (Heritage and Greatbatch 1986: 125).

In the speeches of John F. Kennedy 26 out of 38 identified examples of enumeration are three-part lists. For Ronald Reagan the respective figure is 31 out of 40, for Barack Obama – 109 out of 133, for Gerald Ford – 48 out of 67. Prevalence of triads over other types of enumeration proves that three-part lists are an efficient rhetorical strategy in political communication. The examples of three-part lists are:

(55) […] an America *with too many slums, with too few schools, and too late to the moon and outer space* (Kennedy, "Houston Ministerial Association Address").

(56) He *lived by the sea, died on it, and was buried in it* (Reagan, "Shuttle "Challenger" Tragedy Address").

(57) There were *freedom rides and lunch counters and Billy clubs* (Obama, "Commencement Address at the University of Notre Dame").

(58) *Not an inaugural address, not a fireside chat, not a campaign speech …* (Ford, "The Inaugural Address").

3.8.5. Use of other stylistic devices

Our study demonstrates a clear distinction between charismatic and non-charismatic presidents in their use of other expressive means. A higher amount and a larger variety of other stylistic devices in the speeches of charismatic presidents (John F. Kennedy – 45 units or 3.9 per 1000 words, Ronald Reagan – 55 units or 3.4 per 1000 words and Barack Obama – 56 units or 2.4 per 1000 words) make their communication

richer and more expressive. At the same time the amount of other stylistic devices in the speeches of Gerald Ford is relatively low (22 units or 1.7 per 1000 words).

Though other kinds of stylistic devices are used less frequently, some of them bear significant expressive power and elicit bright mental images in the listeners. One of such stylistic devices is rhyme:

(59) In a program that takes from the *needy* and gives to the *greedy* […] (Reagan, "A Time for Choosing").
(60) […] he's heard voices pleading for "peace at any price" or "better *Red* than *dead*" […] (Reagan, "A Time for Choosing").
(61) Not the peace of the *grave* or the security of the *slave* (Kennedy, "American University Commencement Address").
(62) Our goal is not the victory of *might*, but the vindication of *right* (Kennedy, "Cuban Missile Crisis Address").

The mechanism of rhyme influence on the followers lies in the fact that it focuses the audience on the key ideas presented, making words "stick to the mind" (Den Hartog and Verburg 1997: 364).

Alliteration, which is stylistically motivated repetition of consonants, has the effect that is similar to the one of rhyme. With the help of alliteration a speaker makes the speech more rhythmical and dynamic:

(63) It is the one most *consistent* with our *character* and *courage* as a nation and our *commitments* around the world (Kennedy, "Cuban Missile Crisis Address").
(64) It's based solely on the desire of *wild* and *wide*-eyed liberals to purchase racial reconciliation on the cheap (Obama, "A More Perfect Union").
(65) Your *continued* and *courageous* and *contagious commitment* to honest, thoughtful dialogue is an inspiration to us all (Obama, "Commencement Address at the University of Notre Dame").
(66) I promised the last Congress a policy of *communication*, *conciliation*, *compromise*, and *cooperation* (Ford, "1975 State of the Union Address").

While rhyme and alliteration belong to phonetic stylistic devices, in the speeches under study we have identified a relatively high amount of syntactic stylistic devices

such as repetition and chiasmus. Repetition, which is frequently used in combination with lists and parallel constructions, is one of the most potent stylistic devices (Yefimov and Yasinetska 2004: 77):

(67) I speak of peace, therefore, as the necessary, *rational* end of *rational* men. (Kennedy, "American University Commencement Address").

(68) We're going to *begin* to act *beginning* today (Reagan, "The Inaugural Address").

(69) Not every child has an *equal* talent or an *equal* ability or *equal* motivation, but they should have the *equal* right […] (Kennedy, "Civil Rights Address").

(70) The *blood* that spilled was our *blood* (Obama, "A More Perfect Union").

Since words that are spoken are more difficult to comprehend and remember than the written ones, use of repetition facilitates their recall and increases the memorability of the key message (Den Hartog and Verburg 1997: 364). Repeating a key element in a phrase or a single word several times directs attention to the point the speaker is trying to make (Den Hartog and Verburg 1997: 370).

Chiasmus, also referred to as a reversed parallel construction, envisages a cross order of repeated language units (Yefimov and Yasinetska 2004: 78). Though at first chiasmus may puzzle the listeners, the repetition reinforces the statement and makes it more memorable. Comparing to other presidents under study, chiasmus was more often used in the speeches of John F. Kennedy. The examples of chiasmus are:

(71) Let us never negotiate out of fear, but let us never fear to negotiate (Kennedy, "The Inaugural Address").

(72) Ask not what your country can do for you; ask what you can do for your country (Kennedy, "The Inaugural Address").

(73) I do not speak for my church on public matters; and the church does not speak for me (Kennedy, "Houston Ministerial Association Address").

(74) The Federal Government did not create the states; the states created the Federal Government (Reagan, "The Inaugural Address").

Charismatic presidents skillfully employ irony and paradox in their speeches. Irony is realized when the speaker intentionally breaks the principle of sincerity of the

speech and it is used to convey a negative meaning or emotion: regret, disappointment etc (Yefimov and Yasinetska 2004: 61). The irony is likely to be used more frequently in the candidate speeches when there is a need to attack the statements of opponents:

(75) Who are farmers to know what's best for them? (Reagan, "A Time for Choosing")
(76) When the government tells you you're depressed, lie down and be depressed (Reagan, "A Time for Choosing").

Paradox is a figure of speech in which a statement appears to be self-contradictory, but contains something of a truth (Yefimov and Yasinetska 2004: 61):

(77) For only when our arms are sufficient beyond doubt can we be certain beyond doubt that they will never be employed (Kennedy, "The Inaugural Address).
(78) The wheat farmers voted against a wheat program (Reagan, "A Time for Choosing").
(79) We bought a thousand TV sets for a place where they have no electricity (Reagan, "A Time for Choosing").
(80) The past isn't dead and buried. In fact, it isn't even past (Obama, "A More Perfect Union").

Moreover, politicians often resort to humor, which can serve the function of ice-breakers at the beginning of the speech and elicit positive responses from the audience on the emotional level. This peculiarity of humor usage explains why it is often used in communication with younger audience, namely in the university commencement addresses by Barack Obama and Gerald Ford:

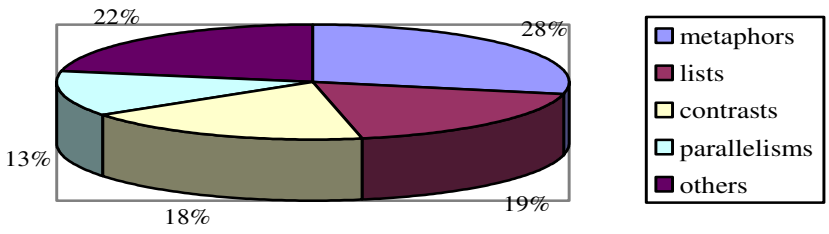
(81) So, Father Ted after the ceremony maybe you can give me some pointers to boost my average (Obama, "Commencement Address at the University of Notre Dame").
(82) So next year, if you need a 6'2" forward with a decent jumper, you know where I live (Obama, "Commencement Address at the University of Notre Dame").

(83) I can see that this graduating class has, excluding myself, talent, vision, ambition, and a sense of humor as well (Ford, "Commencement Address at Chicago State University").

We may conclude that charismatic presidents employ a more creative approach to the use of expressive means, trying to combine conventional rhetorical strategies such as lists, contrasts and parallel constructions with less frequently used stylistic devices.

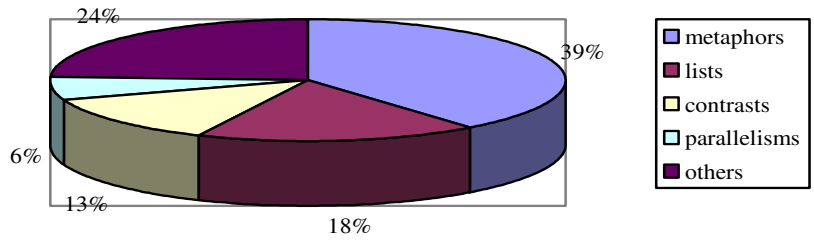
In our research we also have tried to define personal preferences of American presidents in the use of certain expressive means. Our findings demonstrate that stylistic composition of Kennedy's speeches is characterized by frequent use of metaphors (58 out of 204 or 28% of all stylistic devices identified in Kennedy's speeches), other expressive means (45 or 22%), enumerations (38 or 19%) and antitheses (37 or 18%) (see Diagram 26).

Diagram 26. Use of various stylistic devices in the speeches of John F. Kennedy



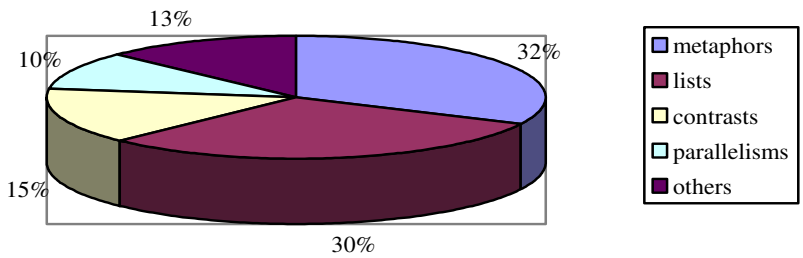
Metaphors also prevail in the speeches of Ronald Reagan – 89 out of 227 or 39% (see Diagram 27). In comparison with other three presidents, Reagan more often resorts to such stylistic devices as irony, paradox, repetition, rhyme, and antonomasia. The use of the aforementioned means, which are not quite conventional for political communication, but bear considerable expressive power, significantly enriches his rhetorical style. The percentage of these devices, which we classify under the heading *Others*, is 24% (55 units), while respective figure for Kennedy is 22%, for Obama – 13% and for Ford – 13%.

Diagram 27. Use of various stylistic devices in the speeches of Ronald Reagan



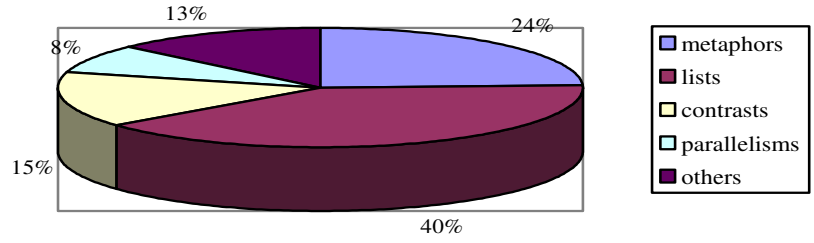
The most frequent stylistic devices in the speeches of Barack Obama are metaphors (142 out of 440 or 32%) and lists (133 or 30%) (see Diagram 28).

Diagram 28. Use of various stylistic devices in the speeches of Barack Obama



Comparing to charismatic presidents, Gerald Ford more often employs lists (67 out of 168 or 40%). The share of metaphors (41 or 24%), parallelisms (13 or 8%), and contrasts (25 or 15%) in stylistic composition of his speeches is relatively low (see Diagram 29).

Diagram 29. Use of various stylistic devices in the speeches of Gerald Ford



Though Proposition 10 is not supported in the regard that the speeches of charismatic presidents contain equally high scores of expressive means, our research proves that these speeches are richer in stylistic devices in quantitative terms than those of Gerald Ford. More importantly, charismatic speakers supersede non-charismatic Ford in the quality of their expressive means, producing more original metaphors, being more precise in enumeration and enriching their communication style with less frequent, but accurate and thus more memorable examples of irony, paradox and rhyme. At the same time we cannot state unequivocally that there exists a universal pattern in the use of expressive means by charismatic presidents. The latter tend to employ metaphors more often than non-charismatic Ford, which replicates previous findings by Emrich et al. (2001) and Mio et al. (2005). Moreover, charismatic presidents employ other stylistic devices (paradox, chiasmus, irony) more frequently than Ford. Yet, we believe that individual preferences play decisive role in the final choice of expressive means, so Proposition 11 is not supported since there is no single overarching pattern of expressive means use that would be endorsed by all the charismatic presidents under study.

3.9. Use of rhetorical questions

Rhetorical questions in stylistics are regarded as another stylistic device. However, since Weintraub in some of his studies (e.g., Winter, Hermann, Weintraub and Walker 2005) treat them as a separate category of analysis, we have decided to analyze them separately as well.

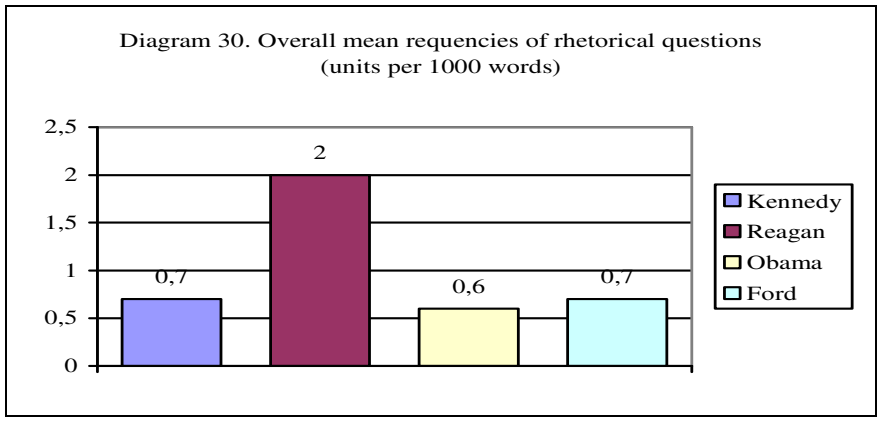
Rhetorical questions are meant to arouse and engage the audience (Winter et al. 2005: 515). In fact, they are not questions, as no answer is expected due to its obviousness, but affirmative or negative statements put into the interrogative form (Yefimov and Yasinetska 2004: 83). Rhetorical questions enhance the expressiveness of speech, catching the attention of the audience and making the sequential statements sound more persuasive and significant (Yefimov and Yasinetska 2004: 83).

According to Gastil (1992), rhetorical question is another common form of implicature (Gastil 1992: 480). Gastil argues that “implicature is an invaluable tool for making relatively tenuous arguments and placing the world within a preferred

ideological frame" (Gastil 1992: 481). Ideological effect from implicature use may be achieved on the basis of several communication mechanisms (Gastil 1992: 481):

> 1. Arguments made through implicature may appeal to the listener at a relatively unconscious level.
> 2. They often cause the listener to become actively involved in the discourse, creating meaning the speaker intends listener to accept.
> 3. If challenged, speakers may deny intending the implication, escaping legal and extra-legal sanction by placing the responsibility upon the listener.
> 4. The potential misunderstandings will be mitigated in the long run as repetition and variation of forms will compensate for the occasional failure.

Charismatic presidents under study have different mean scores of rhetorical questions: John F. Kennedy – 0.7, Ronald Reagan – 2, Barack Obama – 0.6 (see Diagram 30), whereas the mean score of the category for the post-WWII U.S. presidents is 1 unit per 1000 words (Winter et al. 2005). Gerald Ford has the mean score of rhetorical questions, which is similar to the one of Kennedy and Obama – 0.7.



Ronald Reagan employs rhetorical questions more frequently than other presidents under study. The highest scores of the category are in "A Time for Choosing" speech – 5.2 and in "40th Anniversary of D-Day Address" – 2.7 (see Diagram 31). A high mean score of rhetorical questions is also in "Helsinki Address" by Gerald Ford – 2.9. In general, in 12 out of 24 speeches under study the mean scores fluctuate from 0.5 to 1.5, which corresponds to the average score of post-WWII U.S. presidents. In eight speeches rhetorical questions are not used at all (a detailed summary of data on the use of rhetorical questions is provided in Appendix V, p. 192-194).

The examples of rhetorical questions are the following:

(84) I do not consider these other quotations binding upon my public acts. Why should you? (Kennedy, "Houston Ministerial Association Address").

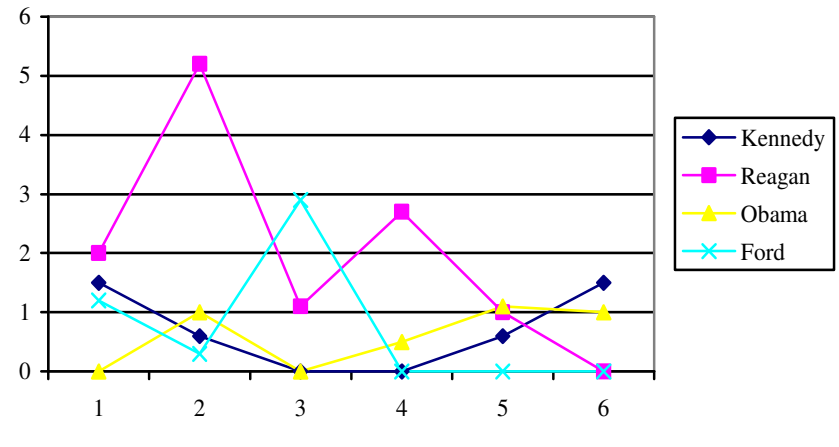
(85) Do they mean peace, or do they mean we just want to be left in peace? (Reagan, "A Time for Choosing").

(86) What progress will we have made? (Obama, "President-Elect Victory Speech").

(87) Is there any better way or equal hope in the world? (Ford, "The Inaugural Address").

Taking into account that our study is focused on prepared speeches, we believe that their careful crafting minimizes the possibility of revealing any angry dispositions unless the effect of this kind is planned. Moreover, we tend to perceive rhetorical questions as exclusively stylistic device, aimed at engaging the audience into communication act, creating an illusion of dialogue or polilogue. It increases the expressiveness of the speech, but it can hardly be used to evaluate psychological characteristics of politicians.

Diagram 31. Frequencies (axis 0Y) of rhetorical questions in different speech sets (axis 0X)



To sum up, our findings do not support Proposition 12, according to which speeches of charismatic presidents contain equally low scores of rhetorical questions. In fact, charismatic John F. Kennedy and Barack Obama as well as non-charismatic Gerald Ford have identical overall mean scores of the category, whereas the respective score of

Ronald Reagan is much higher. At the same time an inconsistent use of rhetorical questions by the latter proves that it is rather his personal preference of how to establish contact with the audience and keep it involved in comprehension of political message encoded in the speech.

3.10. Summary

The results of our research support the statement that pronominal use plays an important role in identity construction of political leaders. Having expanded previous studies by Fiol et al. (1999) and Seyranian and Bligh (2008), we have also provided a more detailed analysis of personal pronouns in political discourse with regard to the type of the speech and other contextual variables.

Proposition 1 is not corroborated due to the fact that not all the charismatic presidents under study have equally high scores of the personal pronoun *we*. Kennedy's mean score on this category is significantly lower than those of Reagan and Obama, at the same time being similar to Gerald Ford's.

As for the use of the personal pronoun *I*, Proposition 2 is fully supported. Charismatic presidents tend to use the above mentioned self-referential pronoun less frequently than non-charismatic Ford and their mean scores on the category are almost identical.

I/we ratio is much lower in the speeches of charismatic presidents than non-charismatic Gerald Ford. It demonstrates that it is more important for charismatic presidents to create a feeling of shared community and unite their followers around the vision than to present themselves as self-contained leaders.

In terms of possessive pronouns, charismatic presidents have similarly low scores of the pronoun *my* (*mine*), which yield manifold to the respective score of Gerald Ford. Possessive pronoun *our* (*ours*) are used more frequently than *my* (*mine*). Besides, their mean scores are similar for both charismatic and non-charismatic presidents under study.

Our findings fully support Proposition 3, according to which charismatic presidents have equally low scores of the pronoun *me*. Infrequent use of this pronoun make followers perceive their leader as an active individual, able to take drastic and independent measures. Though the mean scores of the personal pronoun *us* are slightly

higher for charismatic presidents, specific employment of both *me* and *us* by Gerald Ford reveals higher passivity level of his character.

Since charismatic presidents employ negatives above average level, but with quite different mean scores, Proposition 4 is only partially corroborated. High scores of negatives help charismatic leaders emphasize the necessity of changes in the society, so they are typical for candidate speeches and inaugural addresses. At the same time non-charismatic Gerald Ford also employs the category relatively frequently. Such a tendency reveals all the presidents under study as persistent individuals.

Emotional expressiveness of political leaders finds its manifestation in relatively frequent use of intensifying adverbs and expressions of feelings. The abuse of these categories would demonstrate anxiety of a speaker, so it is important to find a balance in the employment of these categories. Our study shows that the charismatic presidents are quite successful at achieving this goal.

Due to the fact that the speeches of the charismatic presidents contain equally moderate scores of intensifying adverbs, Proposition 5 is fully supported. It should be noted that non-charismatic Ford has similar overall mean score of the category. At the same time insignificant standard deviation in the results of charismatic presidents shows that the category of adverbial intensifiers do not depend on contextual variables and belong to specific features of charismatic communication style.

Similarly, both charismatic and non-charismatic presidents have equally moderate overall mean scores of expressions of feelings, which corroborates Proposition 6. Unlike the category of intensifying adverbs, the mean scores of feeling expressions heavily depend on the type of the audience and speech topic. Still, moderate scores of the category reveal charismatic presidents as extraverts, who are able to control verbal manifestations of their emotions.

Equally low scores of qualifiers in the speeches of charismatic presidents support Proposition 7. Infrequent use of this category is associated with decisiveness. However, non-charismatic Gerald Ford employs qualifiers even less frequently than charismatic presidents, which shows his political personality not only as decisive, but also as quite rigid and categorical one.

Both charismatic and non-charismatic presidents under study have equally moderate scores of retractors, which reveal them as emotionally controlled individuals with high level of flexibility. It fully supports Proposition 8. Rational use of retractors allows politicians to reconsider their statements in the future, thus providing additional

comfort zone while dealing with sensitive issues. Such a strategy is especially efficient while delivering speeches abroad. Our study also demonstrates that the category of retractors is not context dependent as the standard deviation of mean scores is rather low.

Our findings do not corroborate Proposition 9. The mean scores of explainers are significantly lower in the speeches of Ronald Reagan and Gerald Ford than in the speeches of John F. Kennedy and Barack Obama. It may be explained with the influence of party affiliation on the political discourse. Since Republicans rely more on moral values and character utterances in communication with their followers, they will naturally sound more dogmatic and categorical, which is manifested in an infrequent use of explainers. Since Democrats focus on governmental policy and they need to present their political program with a detailed explanation to their followers, their communication style is more explanatory. As we may see, explanatory style is not linked to charismatic appeal, but to particular discourse characteristics of representatives of different parties.

The category of expressive means is associated with creativity of political leaders, which, in its turn, is related to the personality trait of the openness to experience. Our study shows that Kennedy and Obama have higher overall mean scores of stylistic devices than Reagan and Ford, which may be partially explained with the different patterns of expressive means usage by the representatives of different parties. Thus, Proposition 10 is not supported.

Meanwhile, it should be noted the scores of metaphors in the speeches of charismatic leaders are quite similar and significantly higher than the respective mean score of Gerald Ford. Metaphor is one of the most efficient stylistic devices, which elicits bright images and leaves followers with long-lasting memories of the messages communicated by a speaker. Similarly, charismatic speakers are more instrumental at employing various stylistic devices such as irony, chiasmus and paradox. However, we do not regard two above mentioned observations as sufficient ground for the claim that there exists a universal model of employing expressive means in charismatic rhetoric. Thus, Proposition 11 is also refuted.

Frequent use of rhetorical questions is an indicator of anxiety and neuroticism in unprepared speeches. Since all the speeches in our corpus were written in advance, the use of rhetorical questions demonstrates how a speaker interacts with audience, rather than reveals psychological characteristic of the former. Since the mean scores of

rhetorical questions are different for all the four presidents under study, Proposition 12 is not supported as well.

A collateral observation concerns the psychological characteristics of political speeches by John F. Kennedy and Barack Obama. Our study demonstrates that the two politicians have identical or almost equal mean scores in a number of categories: personal pronouns *I*, *me*, and *us*, possessive pronouns *my* (*mine*), qualifiers, retractors, explainers, rhetorical questions and the use of other stylistic devices. It may be interpreted either as accidental similarity of communication styles of both politicians or as a deliberate endeavor of Barack Obama to forge a connection between his discourse and the one of John F. Kennedy. Such a strategy may be efficiently used to establish an association between two charismatic Democratic presidents in the minds of fellow Americans.

4. Employing research results in manufacturing charisma

4.1. Possibility of projecting specific personality traits in political speeches

Our research demonstrates the existence of consistent patterns in the use of certain linguistic categories by charismatic American presidents. Moreover, the above mentioned patterns may be directly linked to specific personality traits of the politicians under study. We acknowledge that this evidence is insufficient in order to prove cause-and-effect relations between the communication style of politicians and their charismatic personality traits. At the same time it would be equally premature to exclude such a possibility.

Pennebaker et al. (2003) also agree with the argument that not only content of the messages, but also linguistic style of political leaders may influence perceptions of the latter by their followers. As Pennebaker et al. (2003) put it, just as the words people choose when talking or writing may betray their thoughts and feelings, those words may be processed at a low or non-conscious level by the listener or reader (Pennebaker et al. 2003: 572).

Such a perspective offers a broad avenue for deliberate manipulations with political rhetoric in order to underline specific personality traits in the public image of a politician or even project the traits which would be favorably perceived by the followers.

As we have mentioned earlier, each individual may be described in terms of five personality traits: extraversion, agreeableness, conscientiousness, emotional stability, and openness to experience. Charismatic leaders usually possess an optimal combination of these traits, which results in their positive perceptions by the followers and in the overall effectiveness of their leadership. Judge et al. (2009) cite Judge, Bono, Ilies and Gerhardt's (2002) research, according to which four out of five personality traits, namely extraversion, conscientiousness, emotional stability, and openness to experience, have significant correlations with leadership emergence and effectiveness (Judge et al. 2009: 856). We believe that the public perception of these traits may be enhanced through a specific use of psychological content analysis categories.

4.1.1. Extraversion

Extraverts are often characterized as assertive, active, energetic, upbeat, talkative and optimistic individuals (Judge et al. 2009: 865). They are good at expressing positive emotions, the ability which is positively related to charisma (Bono and Ilies 2006). Their optimistic view of the future allow extraverts to emerge as group leaders, to be perceived as "leaderlike," and to exhibit behaviors consistent with the transformational model of leadership (Judge et al. 2009: 865). Moreover, Bono and Judge (2004) recognize extraversion as "the strongest and most consistent correlate of transformational leadership" (Judge et al. 2009: 865).

Low scorers in the extraversion trait are quiet, reserved, mannerly and withdrawn (Hogan et al. 1994). The trait, which is often referred to as surgency, is positively associated with dominance, capacity for status, or social presence, the need for power, and sociability (Hogan et al. 1994).

On the other hand, excessive extraversion may lead to some negative outcomes. For instance, extremely extroverted individuals have a tendency to behave in bold, aggressive, and grandiose ways (Judge et al. 2009: 868). They like to be the center of attention, quickly bounce from one conversation or idea to another, and are prone to over-estimating their own capabilities (Hogan and Hogan 2001, cited in Judge et al. 2009: 868).

Since extraversion is directly related to emotional expressiveness, in the political speeches it may be programmed through the use of emotional categories, such as adverbial intensifiers and expressions of feelings. In order to control emotional expressiveness in a charismatic speech, a politician or a speech-writer needs to balance the use of the above mentioned categories. As the analysis of charismatic American presidents' speeches shows, the overall mean scores of emotional categories should be moderate. The respective indices of adverbial intensifiers range from the mean score of 6 units per 1000 words in the speeches of Ronald Reagan to 8.6 in the speeches of Barack Obama. The overall mean frequencies of expressions of feelings range from 7.7 for Ronald Reagan to 10.3 for John F. Kennedy.

Though high *I/we* ratio is another indicator of emotional expressiveness, it should be avoided in charismatic speech as it will hinder the establishment of rapport and trust between leader and followers. Taking into account that in 13 out of 18 charismatic speeches under study *I/we* ratio is below 1, we presume that politicians

generally need to use *we* more frequently than *I* in their speeches in order to be perceived as charismatic.

Since extroverted individuals are characterized as decisive leaders, political speakers are recommended to use qualifiers infrequently. The overall mean scores of the category range from 6.1 in the speeches of Ronald Reagan to 6.5 in the speeches of John F. Kennedy and Barack Obama. Low scores of qualifiers also contribute to a more assertive communication style of a politician (Pennebaker et al. 2003: 556).

Due to the fact that extraversion is associated with activity and vigor, the speeches of would-be charismatic leaders must be balanced in terms of *me* use. The overall mean scores of the personal pronoun *me* are to be low. For instance, in the speeches under study they range from 1.6 for Ronald Reagan to 1.8 for John F. Kennedy and Barack Obama.

To sum up, the presence of extraversion in the public image of a politician may be programmed through a careful consideration of the use of the following categories: expressions of feelings, intensifying adverbs, *I/we* ratio, qualifiers and the personal pronoun *me*.

4.1.2. Agreeableness

Agreeableness is directly connected to friendliness and warmth in interpersonal communication. Though it is the only personality trait which showed trivial correlations with leadership effectiveness, Judge et al. (2009) argue that this trait may positively influence the relationships between leader and followers. Agreeable leaders are cooperative, gentle and kind, choosing to be inclusive and promote affiliation while avoiding conflict (Judge et al. 2009: 865). In terms of organizational behavior, agreeable leaders tend to promote cooperation and helping behavior among team members, be empathetic when delivering critical feedback, and encourage a pleasant, friendly, and fair work environment (Judge et al. 2009: 865).

According to Hogan et al. (1994), agreeableness measures the degree to which individuals are sympathetic, cooperative, good-natured, and warm versus grumpy, unpleasant, disagreeable, and cold. The trait is associated with diplomacy, cooperativeness, likeability, friendly compliance, need for affiliation, and love (Hogan et al. 1994).

Moreover, agreeableness is manifested in modesty and altruistic behavior with agreeable individuals being described as both trusting and trustworthy (Judge et al.

2009: 865). Since agreeable individuals score high in idealized influence, they may also serve as attractive role models (Judge et al. 2009: 865) and empower their followers through their exemplary behavior.

As for the negative outcomes of agreeableness, highly agreeable leaders are likely to avoid interpersonal conflict and be overly sensitive to the feelings and desires of others at work (Judge et al. 2009: 868). It may significantly decrease the efficiency of their decision-making process.

Due to the fact that agreeableness is associated with affiliation and creation of an in-group, perception of this personality trait by followers significantly depends on the correct use of self-referential and inclusive pronouns. It may be one of the reasons why agreeableness, which has insignificant correlation with leadership effectiveness, plays an important role in charismatic leadership proper.

Political leaders or their speechwriters should prefer inclusive pronouns to self-referential ones. For instance, the overall mean scores of the personal pronoun *we* in the charismatic speeches under study range from 10.9 for John F. Kennedy to 19.4 for Ronald Reagan. Mean frequencies of the possessive pronoun *our* (*ours*) range from 9 for John F. Kennedy to 12.7 for Barack Obama. To compare, overall mean frequencies of the personal pronoun *I* range from 10.4 for Barack Obama to 11.4 for Ronald Reagan. The respective indices of the possessive pronoun *my* (*mine*) range from 1.5 for Ronald Reagan to 3.7 for John F. Kennedy.

Empathy and interpersonal warmth, associated with agreeableness, may be also projected through the use of emotional categories (Weintraub 2003: 147). Thus, moderate scores of adverbial intensifiers and expressions of feelings provide a link between the personality traits of extraversion and agreeableness.

Since agreeableness has positive correlations with diplomatic communication style, political leaders are recommended to use the category of retractors moderately. For instance, overall mean frequencies of retractors range from 6.6 for Ronald Reagan to 8.3 – for John F. Kennedy. Moderate use of this category allows politicians not to make clearly offensive statements and persuade their followers through the use of pseudo-consensus technique.

In general, the personality trait of agreeableness may be projected through deliberately planned use of inclusive and self-referential pronouns, expressions of feelings, adverbial intensifiers and retractors.

4.1.3. Conscientiousness

According to Judge et al. (2009), conscientious individuals tend to be disciplined in pursuit of goal attainment, efficient, and have a strong sense of direction; they are detail-oriented, deliberate in their decision-making, and polite in most interpersonal interactions (Judge et al. 2009: 864-865). Conscientiousness is positively associated with integrity, tenacity and persistence in pursuit of organizational objectives (Judge et al. 2009: 865).

Hogan et al. (1994) argue that "conscientiousness differentiates individuals who are hardworking, persevering, organized, and responsible from those who are impulsive, irresponsive, undependable, and lazy". The trait has positive correlations with prudence, ambition, will to achieve, need for achievement, dependability, constraint, and work (Hogan et al. 1994).

Conscientiousness is also associated with social responsibility, an overarching concept which consists of moral-legal standard of conduct, internal obligation, concern for others, concern about consequences, and self-judgment (De Hoogh and Den Hartog 2008: 299). The empirical research proves that leaders who score high in social responsibility are rated higher on ethical leadership and lower on despotic leadership (De Hoogh and Den Hartog 2008). In turn ethical leadership is associated with socialized charisma and leads to an increase in leadership effectiveness.

As for the negative consequences excessive conscientiousness may bring, Judge et al. (2009) argue that individuals who score high in the trait tend to be cautious and analytical, which results in inability to take risks and bring in innovation (Judge et al. 2009: 867).

It should be noted that De Hoogh and Den Hartog (2008) warn their fellow colleagues that if self-reports are taken as a basis for personality assessment, such personality traits as honesty, integrity and conscientiousness are especially susceptible to faking (De Hoogh and Den Hartog 2008: 298).

It may be one of the reasons why it is hard to draw a clear link between the use of certain linguistic categories and perceptions of conscientiousness. The recognition of a political leader as responsible or irresponsible is predominantly based on their real-life actions, not their rhetoric. That is why in case of conscientiousness programming, manipulations with psycholinguistic categories will not bring any positive results unless they are reinforced with consistent behavioral patterns, which would prove the responsibility and achievement motivation of a leader.

The only psychological content analysis category that may be used in this respect is the category of negatives. Since relatively high scores of negatives are associated with persistence and the latter has a positive correlation with conscientiousness, political speeches of charismatic leaders are expected to contain above average scores of the category. For instance, the overall mean frequencies of negatives in our study range from 13.9 in the speeches of Ronald Reagan to 19 in the speeches of John F. Kennedy. It should be noted that Weintraub (2003) associates high scores of negatives with stubbornness. We believe that persistence and stubbornness are similar in their psychological nature. The only difference lies in the extent to which these attributes are revealed in individual personality. That is why we underscore that the frequencies of negatives should be relatively high as it was the case with the mean scores of the charismatic American presidents under study.

All in all, perceptions of leader's conscientiousness may be hardly modified through the use of psycholinguistic categories. This personality trait is revealed through the leader's exemplary behavior and repeated displays of success in work. The only category which may indirectly influence perceptions of conscientiousness is the category of negatives.

4.1.4. Emotional stability

Emotionally stable leaders are calm, relaxed, consistent in their emotional expressions, and unlikely to experience stress, anxiety and jealousy (Judge et al. 2009: 865). Low scorers in the trait tend to be insecure, worried, and emotional (Hogan et al. 1994). Leaders who exhibit emotional stability are likely to remain calm and cool-headed in moments of crisis, be patient in personal and followers' development, and recover quickly from failures (Judge et al. 2009: 865). The trait is positively related to self-confidence and low neuroticism (Hogan et al. 1994).

In terms of negative outcomes for leadership, individuals who have high levels of emotional stability may be regarded as reserved, laid back, or leisurely; they do not often inject emotion into their relationships with followers and rarely experience emotional highs and lows (Judge et al. 2009: 868). Furthermore, failing to express genuine emotions in a given situation may be interpreted as apathy or disinterest and decrease leader's credibility (Judge et al. 2009: 868).

Evaluations of emotional stability are naturally based on the use of emotional categories by a political leader. Moderate scores of intensifying adverbs and expressions

of feelings as well as low *I/we* ratio will be characteristic of charismatic rhetoric. Political speakers need to learn how to use these categories skillfully in order to be able to "infect" their potential followers with their own emotions and fervor without revealing extreme levels of anxiety.

Angry disposition of a speaker may also be revealed through a frequent use of rhetorical questions, so this category should be used carefully in the process of speech-writing. The charismatic presidents under study tend to use rhetorical questions infrequently: from 0.6 units per 1000 words in the speeches of Barack Obama to 2 in the speeches of Ronald Reagan.

The fact that emotionally expressive categories such as intensifying adverbs and expressions of feelings are simultaneously linked to perceptions of emotional stability, extraversion and agreeableness results in the need to employ these categories with moderate frequency while writing political speeches.

4.1.5. Openness to experience

Openness to experience, also referred to as intellectance, demonstrates the degree to which an individual is imaginative, cultured, broad-minded, and curious versus concrete minded, practical and with narrow interests (Hogan et al. 1994).

Judge et al. (2009) argue that those high in openness to experience tend to be creative, introspective, resourceful, insightful, and capable of divergent thinking (Judge et al. 2009: 866). Openness to experience is an important trait of charismatic leadership as it is associated with intellectual stimulation and inspirational motivation. Charismatic leaders are required to have a vivid imagination, be able to challenge conventional wisdom, develop and clearly present their vision of the future to the followers – all of which is positively related to openness to experience (Judge et al. 2009: 866).

Nevertheless, extremely high scores in openness to experience may lead to non-conformism and be counterproductive in traditional and hierarchical work settings (Judge et al. 2009: 868). Besides, open leaders may often get distracted with vogue, but unfeasible and risky ideas.

If to talk about presidential leadership proper, Simonton (2006) differentiates between openness to experience, intelligence and intellectual brilliance, claiming that all three have their distinct origins (Simonton 2006: 513). At the same time all of them are tapping into the same underlying construct – each president's broad intellectual breadth, power, and energy (Simonton 2006: 513). The similarity of the concepts is supported

with high correlations in between openness to experience, intellectual brilliance and IQ (Simonton 2006).

Simonton (2006) claims that "out of more than two dozen individual-difference variables examined, intelligence was the only one to display consistently positive correlations with all available measures of presidential greatness" (Simonton 2006: 512). Simonton (2006) also agrees that openness to experience, better than other Big Five traits, predicts presidential success, as it is positively related to charisma, creativity, cognitive complexity, and ethical leadership.

Creativity is manifested in a frequent use of various stylistic devices. The respective overall mean scores range from 14.6 units per 1000 words in the speeches of Ronald Reagan to 20.2 in the speeches of Barack Obama. It should be noted that quality and variety of expressive means play an even more important role than their quantity in perceptions of politicians' creativity.

Cognitive complexity, which is directly associated with intellectual brilliance and intelligence, is revealed through higher levels of exclusive words (*but*, *except*), tentative words (*maybe*, *perhaps*), negations (*no*, *never*), and discrepancies (*should*, *would*), combined with low levels of inclusive words (*with*, *and*) (Slatcher et al. 2007: 67). Slatcher et al.'s (2007) category of tentative words is similar to the category of qualifiers in our research. However, political leaders are not recommended to use the category of qualifiers frequently as it will lead to less decisive and less assertive communication style. Some examples of exclusive words in Slatcher et al.'s (2007) research (e.g., *but*) belong to our category of retractors, the frequency of which should be maintained at a moderate level. Thus, cognitive complexity may be programmed through a moderate use of retractors and relatively high scores of negatives.

We may assume that cognitively complex individuals will have more explanatory style of communication, which will be revealed in a moderate use of explainers. However, communication style of Democrats is much more explanatory than that of Republicans. This pattern corresponds to prototypical expectations potential followers may have about the representatives of different parties. That is why artificially increased use of explainers may lead to discrepancy between Republican rhetoric and their followers' expectations. It excludes the possibility of manipulations with explainers scores in order to boost the perceptions of a leader's cognitive complexity.

Thus, public perceptions of openness to experience may be projected through specific use of expressive means, negatives and retractors in political speeches.

As a conclusion, in order to be perceived as charismatic, political leaders are required to properly balance their communication style so that their personality traits of extraversion, agreeableness and emotional stability would be manifested at a moderate level, with no obvious extremes. At the same time conscientiousness and openness to experience should be projected more powerfully, not only with the help of rhetoric, but also through real-life behavior of a politician.

We realize that the above mentioned manipulations with linguistic categories in political speeches would not lead to genuine charismatic leadership as there are a number of other factors which are essential for its emergence (e.g., crisis situation and certain followers' characteristics). However, use of these strategies in speech-making process will boost charismatic appeal of a politician, which, under favorable circumstances, may become a significant advantage for the latter. For instance, when there is a crisis situation in the country and the population is generally disappointed with their politicians and seeks "a new face" in the politics, an effective manager may be taught how to rhetorically craft their political messages in order to underline their charismatic leader traits. Thus, a "new-born" politician will have more chances to increase their popular support in a short term. Nevertheless, we acknowledge that such impression management strategies may also be employed by politicians in order to achieve more pragmatic goals and implicitly lobby their own interests.

4.2. Role of contextual variables in charismatic speech-writing

Contextual variables influence the perceptions of leader personality traits by the followers and require charismatic speakers to display certain degree of rhetorical flexibility. Some linguistic categories in our research (*me*, *I/we* ratio, adverbial intensifiers, retractors and explainers) have relatively stable frequencies across different contexts. A few others (most personal pronouns, negatives, expressions of feelings) are characterized by a significant variance depending on the context. Thus, we believe that it calls for the consideration of contextual factors in the development of speechwriting recommendations for charismatic leaders.

It goes in line with the statement that "effective leaders will seek to actively adjust their behaviors in order to meet prototypical expectations they themselves and their followers have in different contexts" (Antonakis, Avolio and Sivasubramaniam

2003: 269). It supports Hogg's (2001) observation that "prototypical members are more likely to emerge as leaders, and more prototypical leaders will be perceived to be more effective leaders" (Hogg 2001: 191).

Similarly, Hermann (2003) argues that charismatic leaders are characterized with the ability to focus "on the problem when that is appropriate to the situation at hand and on building relationship when that seems more relevant" (Hermann 2003: 198). The charismatic leader senses when the context calls for each of these functions and focuses on it at that point in time (Hermann 2003: 198).

Charismatic leaders' ability to adjust their verbal and non-verbal behavior to their followers' characteristics and requirements of the context results in what Sosik et al. (2002) call a "dramatic flair". Extraversion, emotional expressiveness and skilful use of rhetoric allow charismatic speakers to enact many roles in interactions with others in various situations (Sosik et al. 2002: 221), which serves a basis for Gardner and Avolio's (1998) dramaturgical model of charismatic leadership.

In our research certain types of speeches delivered by the charismatic presidents display consistent patterns in the use of particular linguistic categories. These speech types include inaugural addresses, candidate speeches, university commencement addresses and speeches delivered abroad.

4.2.1. Inaugural addresses

Inaugural addresses are among the most important speeches delivered by the presidents. These addresses present a key message that expresses gratitude to the followers for their support, placates the fears of potential opponents and highlights the major tasks identified by the presidential administration.

Presidential scholars regard the inaugural address as a separate genre of presidential communication, an essentially suasive message that presidents craft to establish themselves as national leaders (Emrich et al. 2001: 534). Biria and Mohammadi (2012: 1291) claim that the inaugural address is "a specific kind of discourse targeted at unifying the audience by reconstituting them as the people who can witness and ratify the ceremony, practice shared values drawn from the past and determine the political principles that will govern the new administration".

Due to the importance of the speech and its broad audience, presidents need to spend a lot of time working on its final draft. That is why inaugural speeches, better than other speech genres, convey psychological characteristics of a president.

Erickson (1997) claims that the inaugural addresses of different presidents contain similar patterns both in language and content. A content analysis of 52 inaugural addresses of U.S. presidents revealed 11 major themes: 1) civic virtue, 2) nonpartisanship, 3) national unity, 4) general policy principles, 5) cooperation with Congress, 6) popular support, 7) a providential supreme being, 8) the American mission, 9) political continuity, 10) the president's role as defender of the Constitution and union, and 11) federalism (Erickson 1997).

Teten (2003) argues that presidents' attempt to address many issues in general terms and communicate with a large audience gives an inaugural address a more ceremonial character. Hence the inaugural address is characterized by the absence of partisan position and issue proposition, by reverence and general reflection on the past and by its unification with the present in their stead (Teten 2003).

Since charismatic presidents need to unite both supporters and opponents in their inaugural address, they need to carefully program the use of personal pronouns. The personal pronoun *we,* the overall mean scores of which are already high for charismatic presidents due to the popular demand for agreeableness, needs to be employed even more frequently in the inaugural addresses – 22-25 units per 1000 words. Consequently, *I/we* ratio should be extremely low as well – 0.1-0.5.

Low scores of the personal pronoun *me*, associated with perceptions of a speaker as an active and energetic leader, should be yet lower in the inaugural addresses. In our study these scores range from 0 in the inaugural address of John F. Kennedy to 1.2 in Ronald Reagan's one. At the same time the mean score of the personal pronoun *us* should be relatively high as the president needs to convince the listeners that the pursuit of visionary goals is a common endeavor and the responsibility for its success is also mutual. Thus, the call for followers' actions and cooperativeness is expressed through the use of *let us* construction. The mean scores of the personal pronoun *us* in the charismatic inaugurals under study range from 8.7 for John F. Kennedy to 10.6 for Ronald Reagan.

Moreover, in order to be perceived as charismatic leaders, presidents need to project decisiveness as an integral part of their personality even more forcefully than ever. It may be achieved through a less frequent use of qualifiers. For instance, in our study the mean scores of qualifiers in the inaugural addresses range from 2.4 units per 1000 words for Ronald Reagan to 4.5 for Barack Obama.

Besides, in the inaugural addresses presidents are required to enrich their communication with various original and memorable expressive means. They need to explain the components of their vision in clear and understandable terms so that the followers will be left with a long-lasting memory of what has been said. That is why presidents need to draw special attention to expressive crafting of their inaugural addresses with the approximate concentration of more than 20 stylistic devices per 1000 words.

In general, while preparing an inaugural address, an additional focus should be made on the use of the personal pronouns *we*, *me*, and *us*, *I/we* ratio, qualifiers and creative expressions.

4.2.2. Candidate speeches

While running as presidential candidates, political leaders may afford verbal behavior, which would be considered inappropriate after assuming office. After being elected, presidents need to display a higher level of flexibility and even-handedness than in their campaign rhetoric (Sigelman 2002: 840). Besides, the president is expected to look "presidential" – to seem to be in control of events even when they are spinning out of control, to appear calm and resolute even when he is agitated and unsure of himself, to project energy and optimism even when he is worn out and depressed (Sigelman 2002: 840).

A candidate, especially when he is running against an incumbent president, faces another challenge. He needs to underscore the crisis developments in the country, to convince the followers of the need for changes and present a feasible plan of innovation. At the same time candidates are expected to project a favorable political image – their positive face (Hinck and Hinck 2002), so extreme negativity and constant attacks on the opponents without presenting an alternative will be counterproductive.

Since candidate speeches belong to the frame-breaking phase, political leaders are recommended to employ relatively high frequencies of negatives in order to derogate status quo. In our research these frequencies range from 16.2 for Ronald Reagan to 25.4 for John F. Kennedy.

Besides, the mean scores of feeling expressions should be relatively low in the candidate speeches. In our study they range from 3.5 for Ronald Reagan to 7.4 for John F. Kennedy.

In general, in comparison with inaugural addresses, candidate speeches of charismatic presidents contain less consistent patterns. Nevertheless, speech-writers and politicians are recommended to consider the mean frequencies of negatives and expressions of feelings in their candidate speeches.

4.2.3. University commencement addresses

To our knowledge, there are no studies that define university commencement addresses as a separate genre of presidential speeches. However, American presidents are regularly invited to deliver their speeches in front of the university graduates. Due to the fact that commencement addresses contain some consistent patterns in the use of certain linguistic categories, we have decided to treat them as a specific speech genre.

Since presidents are required to establish an emotional link with a younger audience, special attention should be devoted to the use of expressions of feelings and intensifying adverbs. For instance, the mean score of intensifying adverbs in Kennedy's commencement address is 8.1 and in Obama's – 10 units per 1000 words, both of which are slightly above their overall average. Similarly, the respective scores of expressions of feelings are relatively high: 14.2 for John F. Kennedy and 11.1 for Barack Obama. Interestingly, non-charismatic Ford displays similar dynamics in the use of emotional categories in his university commencement address.

Positive impression on the university students may also be made through a moderate employment of various expressive means. It makes presidential speech more interesting for the young people and underscores the president's creativity, intelligence and openness to experience. All three university commencement addresses in our research have identical scores of this linguistic category (Kennedy – 16.8, Obama – 18, Ford – 16.6).

In their communication with students, presidents try to position themselves as mentors, who give advice and motivate young individuals. To a certain degree, it allows presidents to "try on a professor's robe" and show themselves in the role students are more used to. It may be an explanation of consistently moderate use of explainers in the commencement addresses: Kennedy – 5.8, Obama – 5.3, Ford – 5.2. Thus it is recommended to employ explainers at this level while writing university commencement addresses.

Similarly, moderate use of retractors (Kennedy – 8.4 and Obama – 7.5) protects charismatic presidents from making radical statements, which may cause unexpected

emotional reaction on the part of the youth. Besides, it gives presidents more opportunities for verbal maneuver in case there is need to rebut someone's critic.

All in all, university commencement addresses are recommended to feature relatively high scores of emotional categories and moderate frequencies of expressive means, retractors and explainers.

4.2.4. Speeches delivered abroad

While delivering an address in front of an international audience, a president is expected to represent the State as a whole and its people, rather than a party or the presidential administration. In their trips abroad presidents need to focus on the projection of such personality attributes as proactivity and emotional stability.

Perceptions of proactivity may be achieved through the use of the personal pronouns *me* and *us*. We recommend maintaining the employment of *me* in the speeches delivered abroad at a low level, as it was done by Kennedy (1.4), Reagan (1.1), and Obama (1 unit per 1000 words). The use of *us* also should be infrequent as in our study it ranges from 1.5 for Reagan to 3.8 for Obama.

Emotional stability in international speeches is projected through moderate mean scores of expressions of feelings and intensifying adverbs. In our study the average frequencies of expressions of feelings in the speeches delivered abroad range from 5.5 for emotionally reserved Reagan to 12.8 for explicitly extroverted Kennedy. The respective scores of intensifying adverbs range from 4.8 for Reagan to 7.1 for Kennedy.

Moderate scores of retractors contribute to the diplomatic communication style, which is required in international relations. Hence it is recommended to control the use of retractors at the level of 7-8 units per 1000 words. However, it should be noted that the speeches which address home security issues or are designed to explicitly state that the official position of the country is not a matter of debate, will contain lower mean scores of retractors. In our study these speeches include "Cuban Missile Crisis Address" by John F. Kennedy (retractors mean score – 5.7) and "40th Anniversary of D-Day Address" by Ronald Reagan (retractors mean score – 4.3).

Though our study proves that party affiliation results in different patterns of expainers use, charismatic presidents tend to use the category consistently in the speeches delivered abroad. It may be explained as a need to advance the arguments for the official position of the country in the international relations. Hence, regardless of partisanship, presidents are recommended to employ explainers at a moderate level (4-5

units per 1000 words) while delivering speeches abroad. In "crisis" or more aggressive speeches oriented at international audience the mean scores of explainers may be reduced ("Cuban Missile Crisis Address" – 1.6; "40th Anniversary of D-Day Address" – 2.7).

As a summary, diplomatic and well-balanced presidential position in communication with international audience requires moderate use of emotional categories, retractors and explainers. At the same time the employment of the personal pronouns *me* and *us* should be kept at a low level.

4.3. Shortcomings of charismatic leadership

Though charisma has positive and strong correlations with leadership effectiveness, it should not be perceived as the only component necessary for achieving positive results in organization. In fact, different contexts may require different sets of attributes. For instance, Mumford, Antes, Caughron and Friedrich (2008) classify outstanding leadership into three types: charismatic, ideological, and pragmatic. The authors argue that, in its turn, each type of outstanding leadership emerges under certain conditions and is characterized by certain features, which may be grouped according to four levels.

At the individual level, emergence of charismatic and ideological leaders will require low psychological distance and high contact between leaders and followers, which is the opposite case for pragmatic leaders (Mumford et al. 2008: 149). Pragmatic leaders are likely to emerge in autonomous, high-achieving populations, contrary to vulnerable populations, which are necessary for charismatic and ideological leaders. The performance of a pragmatic leader will depend on the skills and capabilities of followers, while effectiveness of charismatic and ideological leaders takes its roots in the quality of the prescriptive mental model underlying the vision being articulated.

At the group level, the emergence and performance of charismatic leaders require high levels of trust, while in ideological leadership interpersonal trust in the leader is crucial only for performance (Mumford et al. 2008: 150). For pragmatic leaders perceptions of process, procedural, and distributive justice will be more important than trust (Mumford et al. 2008: 151). Furthermore, the emergence and performance of ideological leaders will depend on high levels of group cohesion; charismatic leaders will need to develop group cohesion on their own, while the need

for it in pragmatic leadership will be minimal. Correspondingly, high levels of interdependence will contribute to the emergence and performance of charismatic and ideological leaders, but not of pragmatic ones.

At the organizational level, pragmatic leaders will emerge and perform well in stable settings, charismatic leaders – in ordered settings, and ideological ones – in highly chaotic settings (Mumford et al. 2008: 152). Besides, organizational complexity is positively correlated with pragmatic and charismatic leadership, while professionalism and low levels of political conflict – only with pragmatic leadership (Mumford et al. 2008: 153).

At the environmental level, ideological leaders are likely to emerge in collectivist cultures and in the times of social disruption and the failure of extant institutions (Mumford et al. 2008: 154). Conditions of social and technological change will contribute to the emergence and performance of charismatic leaders. The latter will perform effectively under conditions of goal conflict whereas pragmatic leaders are efficient under conditions of goal consensus.

All in all, Mumford et al. (2008) believe that charismatic leadership is focused around future goals, ideological leadership takes its root in past achievements and ideas, and pragmatic leaders cope with present-day tasks in the first place.

However, even when followers' and context characteristics perfectly suit the emergence of charismatic leadership, the latter may envisage some negative behavioral patterns. Den Hartog et al. (1999) argue that charisma has a dual nature: both positive and negative, which will be perceived differently in different cultural surroundings. Besides, in some countries charisma is believed to be "a mixed blessing" as it may cause negative consequences for the followers (Den Hartog et al. 1999: 242-243).

The "dark side" of charisma primarily takes its roots in some negative attributes charismatic leader's personality may encompass. Judge et al. (2009) denominate these attributes as "dark traits", which include narcissism, hubris, social dominance and Machiavellianism.

Narcissism is a personality trait that is characterized by arrogance, self-absorption, entitlement, and hostility (Rosenthal and Pittinsky 2006, cited in Judge et al. 2009: 866). Narcissists exhibit an unusually high level of self-love, believing that they are uniquely special and entitled to praise and admiration; besides, they tend to view others as inferior to themselves, often acting in insensitive, hostile, and self-enhancing ways (Judge et al. 2009: 866). Sankowsky (1995) states that fusion of charisma and

narcissism is a common combination in which the dark side of charisma is revealed, since personal ambitions and power abuse may lead to negative followers' and company outcomes.

According to Judge et al. (2009), hubris is revealed in excessive pride, an inflated sense of self-confidence, and individual self-evaluations in terms of talent, ability, and accomplishment that are much more positive than any reasonable objective assessment would otherwise suggest (Judge et al. 2009: 867).

Social dominance is regarded as one's preference for hierarchy and stable status differentials in any given social system (Judge et al. 2009: 867). The trait is manifested in the desire to control conversations, put pressure on others, and demand explanations for otherwise normal activities (Judge et al. 2009: 867).

Machiavellianism is defined as a personality trait characterized by cunning, manipulation, and the use of any means necessary to achieve one's political ends (Judge et al. 2009: 867). Leaders that will deliberately employ speech-writing recommendations described in our research in order to boost their charismatic appeal are supposed to be Machiavellian. Individuals characterized as Machiavellian are politically oriented, seek control over followers, use tactics of impression management, and avoid motives of organizational concern and prosocial values (Judge et al. 2009: 867). While these leaders have a natural talent for influencing people, they can usually talk others into doing things for the leader's personal benefit, clearly abusing power embedded in an organization's formal authority and power captured in the leader's dominant behavior (Judge et al. 2009: 867).

Paradoxically enough, "dark traits" may result in some positive leadership outcomes. For instance, in order not to harm their public image, narcissistic leaders may modify the nature and pattern of interpersonal interactions to preserve the positive impressions they seek to make on others (Judge et al. 2009: 870). Individuals with hubris are likely to project power, strength, and authority in difficult situations, inspiring confidence among their followers and peers (Judge et al. 2009: 870). Socially dominant leaders command the attention and respect of others, behave in ways that make themselves appear competent and display a strong desire for achievement and control, making them attractive to willing followers (Judge et al. 2009: 870). As for Machiavellianism, leaders with this personality attribute show considerable flexibility in handling structured and unstructured tasks, are directive and efficient at building political connections (Judge et al. 2009: 871).

In general, Judge et al. (2009) conclude that positive or negative outcomes of dark traits depend on the degree a certain psychological trait is manifested in a leader's character and the way leaders use their traits while establishing connections with their followers.

Talking about shortcomings of charismatic leadership, a leader's realization of the degree of trust followers have in him and of the full potential for influencing their behavior may often lead to power abuse and personalized charisma. Personalized charismatics, also called pseudotransformationals, perceive leadership as a mechanism for achieving their own goals and build up the relationships with their subordinates in ways that would satisfy leaders' need for power and self-aggrandizement.

To sum up, in order to achieve maximum leadership effectiveness, peculiarities of context may demand leader characteristics, which are different from those typical of charismatic leadership. Besides, perceptions of charisma and its effectiveness may also be culturally contingent. What is more, charismatic leaders often possess "dark" personality traits which will result in behavioral patterns predominantly aimed at enhancing a positive self-image, exerting control over others and implementing power motives. Ultimately, it may serve as a basis for the development of personalized charisma.

Though leadership is a complex phenomenon in which many variables come into play, we believe that individuals may be taught to be effective leaders. Khatri et al. (2001) even argue that both charisma and vision can be acquired (Khatri et al. 2001: 390). In our conclusions we are less optimistic about possibility of developing genuine charismatic leadership artificially, but we support the idea that charismatic appeal may be significantly enhanced through certain impression management strategies and careful crafting of political speeches. As Popper, Mayseless, and Castelnovo (2000) claim, in order to develop as a leader, an individual needs the capacity to be a leader and a motivation to become one.

Shamir (2011) argues that charismatic leadership may be manifested by single acts (e.g., a charismatic speech) or a more enduring behavioral style (Shamir 2011: 308). According to Shamir (2011), the charismatic speech will have a strong short term effect on followers' emotional arousal, but little effect on their motivation or commitment, while a more continuous behavioral style will not have a strong effect on arousal but, over time, will increase commitment and motivation. One way or another, a

political speech proves to be an important means in building up leader-followers relationships, so development of charismatic rhetorical skills deserves special attention in the process of manufacturing charisma.

Our study demonstrates that deliberate manipulations with psycholinguistic categories may be employed in projecting personality traits associated with charismatic leadership. However, in the process of speech-writing, type of the speech and audience characteristics should also be taken into consideration, since, under different circumstances, prototypical expectations of the followers are likely to be different. At the same time, while crafting political speeches, speech writers should bear in mind the existence of the "dark side" of charismatic leadership.

5. Limitations of the study and implications for future research

In our research we have faced some challenges which resulted in certain limitations of our study. They are predominantly related to the fact that psychological content analysis, which is a major method in our research, has been rarely used in empirical studies up to date. There are only few works, mainly with the authorship of Walter Weintraub, that provide general description of its employment.

Since, according to Weintraub's methodology, analysis categories in the political speeches should be manually coded, it increases the role of the researcher's bias in the process. It should be noted that categories, which encompass extensive amount of units (qualifiers, expressions of feelings, creative expressions), are more susceptible to such bias. At the same time it is not a problem for self-explaining categories such as personal and possessive pronouns and negatives. In other cases we have addressed the issue by making lists of units within category as exhaustive as possible and employing them consistently while analyzing every speech. Such an approach is vividly illustrated in our analysis of retractors and explainers (see subchapters 2.4.6 and 2.4.7.).

Nevertheless, it is worth mentioning that in the analysis of explainers we have primarily focused on conjunctions and word combinations that display causal connections between utterances. We recognize that causal relationship may be expressed through phrase semantics without involving conjunctions. However, a broader employment of CDA in this regard is likely to increase the researcher's bias so we have limited the list of units to the most frequent conjunctions and phrases. A similar approach was used in the analysis of retractors, though reversing previous statements may also be achieved through logical structuring of utterances without the use of conjunctions.

Another reservation concerns the analysis of creative expressions. First of all, we acknowledge that some stylistic devices (contrasts, lists, rhetorical questions) have been identified according to the formal principle without consideration of expressive power they may bear. Secondly, though Heritage and Greatbatch (1986) define combination of different rhetorical strategies as a separate rhetorical device, in our research all the lists and contrasts as well as other expressive means involved in creating more elaborate rhetorical structures are coded separately.

The impact of the researcher's bias may be diminished through involving several researchers in the analysis of the same material. Nevertheless, due to the time-consuming character of the research and a relatively large corpus of speeches, the author of the study is the only coder involved, which excludes the possibility of checking intercoder reliability of the results obtained.

Another limitation takes its roots in our attempt to combine qualitative and quantitative methods of analysis. Such a fusion has resulted in the fact that the boundaries of psychological content analysis and CDA are not clear cut throughout our research. In fact, CDA performs a role of supplementary instrument, which is necessary for explaining the influence context exerts on quantitative results.

The way we have grouped speeches in our sample also deserves special attention. While inaugural addresses may be easily referred to as a separate speech genre, classification of other speeches into subsets may be quite a challenging task. Since our sample contains some of the most important speeches in presidential political career, the nature of the events they were devoted to is rather unique (e.g., "Cuban Missile Crisis Address"). Our endeavor to deal with this issue is reflected in the creation of more vague speech subsets such as *Speeches connected to foreign policy issues* and *Miscellaneous*.

It should be mentioned that in some speeches mean frequencies of certain categories were difficult to rationalize. Though the scores in these speeches did not fit the pattern of category employment in the speeches of other charismatic presidents, they were still believed to be among the most outstanding addresses in charismatic presidents' career. Such a discrepancy may be explained by the synergetic influence of other categories or personality traits on the final perceptions of a leader's charismatic appeal. Besides, we should not forget that charisma is measured with a continuous scale, so it is quite likely that a different degree of charismatic appeal results in less distinctive patterns of linguistic categories use. However, one of the major aims in our research was to track the general tendencies in the use of linguistic categories and link them to personality characteristics, so the possibility of minor deviations from the general pattern should not be excluded, but it should also not diminish the importance and reliability of our findings.

Moreover, some categories in our research (personal pronouns, negatives) belong to basic linguistic categories, which are frequently used in everyday communication and thus show positive statistic correlations not only with permanent

personality traits, but also with other individual characteristics. For instance, higher scores of 1st-person singular pronouns, except for being characteristic of self-centered and narcissistic people, are also typical for depressed individuals and non-deceptive communication (Slatcher et al. 2007: 65). Females tend to use more positive emotion words than males; the category employment also becomes more frequent with increasing age (Slatcher et al. 2007). Thus the possibility of overlapping influence of different individual characteristics on the use of linguistic categories should not be excluded from personality studies.

As a possible alternative of expending our current research and increasing the reliability of its results, we suggest increasing the population of the American presidents under study. If to take the period of the last 50 years, William Clinton (charisma index M=4.90) may be included into the research as another charismatic leader in recent U.S. history. In order to balance the amount of charismatic and non-charismatic presidents, political speeches of three American presidents who have the lowest charisma ratings after Gerald Ford (Jimmy Carter M=2.50, George Bush Sr. M=2.56, and Richard M. Nixon M=2.70) should also become a subject of analysis in future research (charisma ratings are taken from Seyranian and Bligh 2008).

Possibility of existence of partisan patterns in the use of psychological analysis categories may also be studied more thoroughly. We have identified certain differences in the use of explainers and creative expressions by Democratic and Republican presidents, which indirectly supports the assumption that party affiliation may influence the mean scores of other linguistic categories and overall presidents' responses to context changes.

Time is another factor we have not included in our research. We believe that the time span of 50 years is small enough to minimize the influence of diachronical language development on the category frequencies. Nevertheless, Jarvis' (2004) study demonstrates that throughout the period of 1948-2000 Democratic and Republican discourse patterns underwent some significant changes in the direction of becoming less distinctive. At the same time it should be noted that these changes primarily concern the content of political messages whereas our study deals with deeper psycholinguistic structures the modification of which are likely to require longer time periods.

However, the major shortcoming of our research lies in the fact that we have not proved the existence of cause-and-effect relationships between mean scores of linguistic categories in leader's communication and followers' perceptions of particular

personality traits in a politician's character. As the matter of fact, this drawback offers a broad avenue for future research which will require different methodology and different tasks set. The mean scores of each psychological content analysis category may be deliberately programmed and their influence on attribution of charisma and perceptions of various personality traits may be observed. For these purposes a representative sample of native English speakers should be provided with an opportunity to listen to two variants of the same speech: original and the one with modification of linguistic categories which do not influence the overall content of the speech. As an ideal variant, mean scores of each linguistic category should be manipulated separately in order to evaluate its input in the followers' perceptions of a leader's charisma and the Big Five personality traits. Thus, the speechwriting recommendations compiled in our research should be regarded as propositions for future study.

As for other limitations, we underscore that our study focuses on the leader's characteristics, rhetorical skills and public image. We are interested in the impression management strategies aimed at the development of charismatic appeal. At the same time we focus exclusively on the verbal behavior of politicians though we acknowledge that non-verbal self-presentation and certain symbolic actions are of no less importance for forging one's public image. Moreover, we recognize that constructing positive charismatic identity is not enough for emergence of charismatic leadership. Followers' characteristics and context features are two other components of charismatic leadership, which are beyond the scope of our current research. Nevertheless, the possibility to modify followers' attributes and manipulate context variables also seems to be a prospective topic for further investigation.

Conclusions

Political discourse is an elaborate communication subsystem in which power relations are manifested in diverse forms. Communication plays an especially important role in political leadership since politicians are expected to verbally interact with their followers, express their beliefs and values, inspire the audience for socially oriented behavior, and increase their popular support through well developed rhetorical skills. Political discourse is influenced by the personality characteristics of a speaker and a listener as well as by the social context in which political messages are delivered. That is why political discourse analysis should encompass the study of all the above mentioned components.

Political speech occupies a special place in the system of political discourse. It is regarded as a symbolic reality model which performs a set of functions. It provides the audience with certain amount of information, creates an ideological background and serves as an ideal manipulation instrument, which forges positive identity of a politician, directs followers' perceptions of leader and situation characteristics and deliberately influences socio-political reality. The topic, audience type and venue considerably modify not only the content of political messages, but also the way the communication between leader and followers is constructed in political speeches. Hence the analysis of political identity in the speeches requires a combination of qualitative and quantitative perspectives.

In our research we employ unitary methodology in which psychological content analysis provides quantitative data on the use of certain linguistic categories and links them to specific personality characteristics of a speaker, whereas critical discourse analysis (CDA) explains the influence of contextual factors on the mean frequencies of these categories. In our study we describe the history of development of content analysis, CDA and psychological analysis and focus on their characteristic features in a more detailed fashion. However, distortion of boundaries in between these methodologies is our deliberate endeavor aimed at integrating the knowledge and research instruments from three distinctive areas of studies: social science, linguistics, and psychology. All of these scientific fields have been dealing with identity studies in communication in isolation from one another, so the integration of this kind offers new

prospects for the analysis of personality through discourse and especially – for the analysis of charismatic identity in political speeches.

In our study we regard charismatic appeal as an array of a leader's psychological attributes, which results in overall positive perceptions of his or her personality by the audience and attracts potential followers. Charismatic leaders are usually characterized as good communicators, honest, reliable, and dominant in uncertain situations. Among the necessary components of charismatic appeal there are qualities of self-confidence, self-determination, a need to influence, emotional expressiveness and vision. Every person possesses a certain degree of charismatic attributes, which may become accentuated under specific context conditions. However, genuine charisma, which is sometimes referred to as extraordinary personal magnetism, is a rare phenomenon.

The combination of a leader's characteristics is not sufficient for the emergence of genuine charismatic leadership. The latter is perceived as an influence process involving relationships among leader, followers and context. Followers should be susceptible to a leader's charismatic attributes and the context should allow these attributes to be revealed to full extent.

Psychological characteristics of charismatic leaders are manifested in their communication. A number of studies prove the existence of consistent differences between charismatic and non-charismatic rhetoric. The importance of our research lies in the expansion of the previous findings on charismatic rhetoric and tracking psycholinguistic patterns not only in the content, but also in the linguistic style of charismatic speakers. Besides, we have proved that the mean frequencies of certain linguistic categories are similar for different charismatic presidents and may be explained through their personality features.

Our study replicates Fiol et al.'s (1999) and Seyranian and Bligh's (2008) studies with regard to the use of the personal pronoun *we*. Our findings demonstrate that charismatic presidents tend to use the inclusive pronoun more frequently than non-charismatic Gerald Ford. However, our proposition is not fully supported since the overall mean scores of the category are quite different in the speeches of John F. Kennedy, Ronald Reagan and Barack Obama.

On the other hand, our research demonstrates that the average frequencies of the personal pronoun *I* are almost identical for the three charismatic presidents under study, at the same time being much lower than that of non-charismatic Gerald Ford. Moreover, *I/we* ratio, which shows the prevalence of the self-referential personal pronoun *I* over

inclusive *we*, is much lower for charismatic presidents under study. Such patterns are explained by the charismatic leader's orientation at group identification, the need to unite followers around the innovative vision, and avoidance of being perceived as a narcissist.

Possessive pronouns display similar dynamics. Political speeches of charismatic presidents contain similarly low scores of the pronoun *my* (*mine*), whereas the respective index of Gerald Ford is much higher. However, there are no considerable differences in the use of the possessive pronoun *our* (*ours*) between charismatic and non-charismatic speakers. Yet this pronoun is employed more frequently than self-referential *my* (*mine*), which may be explained with the same argument as in the case with the pronouns *I* and *we*.

The speeches of charismatic presidents feature identically low scores of the pronoun *me*, which are positively associated with perceptions of the leader's proactivity, energy and dynamism.

Although the mean scores of negatives (e.g., *no*, *not*, *never*, *nowhere* etc) are quite different in absolute terms in the charismatic speeches, all the presidents under study frequently employ the category. It demonstrates persistence and oppositional tendencies in the character as specific personality characteristics of the presidents under study. Besides, frequent use of negatives allows political leaders to underscore the need for societal changes, which is especially important while running as a presidential candidate or at the early stages of the presidency.

Since emotional expressiveness is often regarded as an essential attribute for charismatic leaders to possess, it is supposed to be properly revealed in their communication style. In our research, adverbial intensifiers and expressions of feelings are defined as discourse markers of emotional expressiveness.

Our findings demonstrate an equally moderate use of intensifying adverbs in both charismatic and non-charismatic speeches. Nevertheless, the employment of the category is relatively stable in the speeches of charismatic presidents, whereas the mean scores of the category in Gerald Ford's speeches are characterized by a significant standard deviation. It demonstrates the independence of the category use from the contextual variables in the speeches of charismatic speakers.

The expressions of feelings are also employed moderately in the speeches of all the four presidents under study. However, the mean scores of the category vary considerably, depending on the topic of the speech and the type of audience.

Moderate average frequencies of adverbial intensifiers and expressions of feelings reveal charismatic presidents as emotional extraverts, who are still able to control their emotions if needed and do not demonstrate extreme anxiety.

Equally low scores of qualifiers (e.g., *some*, *maybe*, *perhaps*, *I think* etc) display charismatic speakers as decisive leaders, capable of taking drastic actions in crisis situations. Though Gerald Ford employs qualifiers even less frequently, such a pattern contributes to the rigidity of his political image.

Categorical character of the utterances may be softened through a skillful use of retractors (e.g. *but*, *however*, *nevertheless*, *though* etc). Our findings demonstrate that all the four presidents have moderate overall mean scores of retractors, which allow politicians to reconsider their decisions and contribute to diplomatically flexible communication style. Similarly to intensifying adverbs, the category of retractors is not context bound.

Our study reveals consistent patterns in the use of explainers (e.g., *because*, *that is why*, *therefore*, *since* etc) not in the framework of charismatic versus non-charismatic rhetoric, but in the framework of Republican versus Democratic discourse. American presidents who represent the Democratic Party have a more explanatory communication style. They construct their utterances with the help of causal conjunctions in an attempt to explain their policy priorities and justify their political actions. That is why the scores of explainers in the speeches of John F. Kennedy and Barack Obama, who are Democrats, are almost twice as high as the respective scores in the speeches of Gerald Ford and Ronald Reagan, who represent the Republican Party. All in all, Republican American presidents are more dogmatic, since Republican discourse is based on moral values and character description.

Sophisticated use of expressive means demonstrates the politician's creativity and openness to experience. In our research charismatic presidents employ various stylistic devices more frequently than non-charismatic Gerald Ford. However, the respective mean scores of John F. Kennedy and Barack Obama are higher than that of Ronald Reagan. It may be explained by a more conservative communicative style of the latter, which stems from his party affiliation.

In our research we have refuted the proposition concerning the existence of similar patterns in the use of stylistic devices by charismatic presidents. Their speeches are characterized with identically frequent use of metaphors and richer variety of stylistic devices. However, this evidence is not sufficient to claim that there exists a

particular “mathematically balanced” model of expressive means usage in charismatic rhetoric, which would presuppose a certain proportion of lists, contrasts, parallelisms and other stylistic devices, universal for all the charismatic presidents. Our study demonstrates that the use of expressive means is highly individual.

No consistent patterns have been found in the use of rhetorical questions by charismatic and non-charismatic presidents. Frequent use of the category demonstrates anxiety and neuroticism in unprepared speeches, whereas our study focuses on the political addresses prepared beforehand.

Most of the above mentioned linguistic categories are employed subconsciously, which is the reason why they are useful tools in decoding psychological characteristics of the speaker. Relatively deliberate planning of category employment usually takes place while dealing with the personal pronouns *I* and *we*, expressions of feelings, expressive means, and rhetorical questions. Political leaders employ other linguistic categories mentioned in our research without due attention.

However, a speaker’s linguistic style does not only subconsciously reveal their personality traits, it also subconsciously influences the perceptions of these traits by the potential followers. It means that deliberate manipulations with these linguistic categories may lead to the alterations in attributions of charisma and certain personality traits to the leader. Thus, the patterns which are typical for charismatic presidents may serve as a basis for artificial manufacturing of charismatic appeal, or at least modifying followers’ perceptions of specific traits in the leader’s character.

For instance, perceptions of charismatic leader’s extraversion may be programmed through moderate use of expressions of feelings and intensifying adverbs, low scores of qualifiers and the personal pronoun *me,* and *I*/*we* ratio, which is below 1. Moderate scores of expressions of feelings, intensifying adverbs and retractors, frequent use of inclusive pronouns, which prevail over the self-referential ones, will contribute to the perceptions of agreeableness. The only linguistic category indirectly related to the perceptions of conscientiousness is the category of negatives. Emotional stability may be programmed through control over the use of emotional categories. Positive perceptions of openness to experience may be projected through high scores of negatives, sophisticated employment of various expressive means and moderate scores of retractors.

While deliberately programming the linguistic component in political discourse, contextual variables should also be taken into consideration. Thus, inaugural addresses

of charismatic presidents are expected to contain even higher scores of the pronoun *we* and *us*, more elaborate use of expressive means, minimal amount of qualifiers and the personal pronoun *me* and extremely low *I*/*we* ratio. Candidate speeches should feature high mean frequencies of negatives and low scores of expressions of feelings. In university commencement addresses it is recommended to employ high scores of emotional categories and moderate frequencies of expressive means, retractors and explainers. While delivering speeches abroad, charismatic presidents are expected to use retractors, explainers and emotional categories moderately, at the same time keeping employment of the pronouns *me* and *us* at a low level.

The aforementioned speech-writing recommendations may increase charismatic appeal and modify the public image of a politician, but they are unlikely to generate genuine charisma since the latter requires an appropriate combination of not only leader's attributes, but also of followers' characteristics and context.

As a continuation of our study, we offer to investigate the possibility of modifying contextual variables and followers' attributes. Besides, the study may be expanded by balancing the amount of charismatic and non-charismatic presidents, involving several coders to test intercoder reliability, and including factors of time and partisanship. However, the major suggestion concerns the study of cause-and-effect relations between the use of certain linguistic categories, perceptions of specific personality traits and attributions of charisma.

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Appendixes

Appendix I

List of political speeches taken for analysis

	President	Speech title	Date	Location	Amount of words
1.	John F. Kennedy	Inaugural Address	20.01.1961	Washington, USA	1382
2.	John F. Kennedy	Houston Ministerial Association Speech	12.09.1960	Houston, USA	1615
3.	John F. Kennedy	"Ich bin ein Berliner"	26.06.1963	Berlin, Germany	703
4.	John F. Kennedy	Cuban Missile Crisis Address	22.10.1962	Washington, USA	2460
5.	John F. Kennedy	American University Commencement Address	10.06.1963	Washington, USA	3444
6.	John F. Kennedy	Civil Rights Address	11.06.1963	Washington, USA	1979
7.	Ronald Reagan	First Inaugural Address	20.01.1981	Washington, USA	2457
8.	Ronald Reagan	"A Time for Choosing"	27.10.1964	Los Angeles, USA	4628
9.	Ronald Reagan	Brandenburg Gate Address	12.06.1987	Berlin, Germany	2731
10.	Ronald Reagan	40th Anniversary of D-Day Address	6.06.1984	Omaha Beach, France	1856
11.	Ronald Reagan	"The Evil Empire"	8.03.1983	Orlando, USA	3883
12.	Ronald Reagan	Shuttle "Challenger" Disaster Address	28.01.1986	Washington, USA	652
13.	Barack Obama	Inaugural Address	20.01.2009	Washington, USA	2465
14.	Barack Obama	"A More Perfect Union"	18.03.2008	Philadelphia USA	5031
15.	Barack Obama	"A New Beginning"	4.06.2009	Cairo, Egypt	6059
16.	Barack Obama	Nobel Prize for Peace Acceptance Speech	10.12.2009	Oslo, Norway	4268
17.	Barack Obama	Commencement Address at the University of Notre Dame	18.05.2009	Notre Dame, USA	3613
18.	Barack Obama	President-Elect Victory Speech	4.11.2008	Chicago, USA	2061
19.	Gerald Ford	Remarks on Taking the Oath of Office as President	9.08.1974	Washington, USA	849

20.	Gerald Ford	Remarks Upon Accepting the 1976 Republican Presidential Nomination	19.08.1976	Kansas City, USA	2891
21.	Gerald Ford	Address Before the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe	1.08.1975	Helsinki, Finland	2791
22.	Gerald Ford	Remarks Announcing a Program for the Return of Vietnam-Era Draft Evaders and Military Deserters	16.09.1976	Washington, USA	591
23.	Gerald Ford	Commencement Address at Chicago State University Address	12.07.1975	Chicago, USA	1933
24.	Gerald Ford	The 1975 State of the Union Address	15.01.1975	Washington, USA	4126

Appendix II

Mean scores for the first seven post-World War II presidents (Weintraub 2003)

Category	Score
I	35
We	20
Me	1.5
Negatives	12
Qualifiers	11
Retractors	6.5
Direct references	2.5
Explainers	5.5
Expressions of feeling	3.5
Adverbial intensifiers	15
Nonpersonal references	775
Creative expressions	2.5

Appendix III

Analysis of pronominal categories

John F. Kennedy	I	we	my	our	me	us	I/we
Inaugural Address	2,9	21,7	2,9	15,2	0	8,7	0,1
Ministerial Association Address	29,1	3,1	9,9	4,3	7,4	0	9,4
"Ich bin ein Berliner"	14,2	5,7	5,7	1,4	1,4	2,8	2,5
Cuban Missile Crisis Address	7,3	8,1	2	11,4	0,8	0,8	0,9
Commencement Address	6,4	15,7	0,9	17,4	0	4,4	0,4
Civil Rights Address	6,6	11,2	1	4,5	1	3,5	0,6
Overall mean score	11,1	10,9	3,7	9	1,8	3,4	2,3
Std. Deviation	9,6	6,9	3,5	6,6	2,8	3,1	3,6
Range	26,2	18,6	9	16	7	8,7	9,3

Ronald Reagan	I	we	my	our	me	us	I/we
Inaugural Address	9,8	22	2	22	1,2	10,6	0,4
"A Time for Choosing"	8,4	21,8	1,3	9,7	1,1	5	0,4
Brandenburg Gate Address	13,9	9,9	3,7	3,7	1,1	1,5	1,4
40th Anniversary of D-Day Address	4,8	12,4	0,5	8,6	1,1	2,7	0,4
"Evil Empire"	17,8	8,8	1,6	8,2	2,1	3,9	2
Shuttle Tragedy Address	13,8	41,4	0	10,7	3,1	7,7	0,3
Overall mean score	11,4	19,4	1,5	10,5	1,6	5,2	0,8
Std. Deviation	4,6	12,2	1,3	6,1	0,8	3,4	0,7
Range	13	33	4	18	2	9,1	1,7

Barack Obama	I	we	my	our	me	us	I/we
Inaugural Address	2	25,2	1,2	28	0,4	9,3	0,1
"A More Perfect Union"	9,1	14,7	6,2	8,5	2,6	2,8	0,6
"A New Beginning"	10,1	16,5	2,6	11,2	1	3,8	0,6
Nobel Prize Acceptance Speech	9,6	17,1	2,1	7,3	1,2	3,5	0,6
Commencement Address	16,3	13	3,6	8,3	3,6	8	1,3
President-Elect Victory Speech	15	22,8	5,8	13,1	1,9	6,8	0,7
Overall mean score	10,4	18,2	3,6	12,7	1,8	5,7	0,7
Std. Deviation	5,1	4,8	2	7,8	1,2	2,7	0,4
Range	14	12,2	5	21	3,2	6,5	1,2

Gerald Ford	I	we	my	our	me	us	I/we
Inaugural Address	40	5,9	18,8	12,9	9,4	1,2	6,8
Republican Nomination Address	23,2	15,9	6,6	16,6	3,1	3,1	1,5
Helsinki Address	7,2	18,6	4,3	12,2	0	2,5	0,4

Vietnam-era Evaders Address	20,3	1,7	16,9	6,8	5,1	0	12
Commencement Address	31	3,6	3,1	1	3,1	0	8,6
1975 State of the Union Address	15,5	14,5	1,7	13,1	0,7	2,4	1,1
Mean	22,9	10	8,6	10,4	3,6	1,5	5,1
Std. Deviation	11,5	7,2	7,4	5,6	3,4	1,3	4,8
Range	33	16,9	17,1	15,6	9,4	3,1	11,6

Appendix IV

Analysis of negatives, adverbial intensifiers, expressions of feelings, qualifiers, retractors, and explainers

John F. Kennedy	Negativ.	Adv. intensif.	Expr. of feeling	Qualif.	Retract.	Explain.
Inaugural Address	21,7	7,2	16,6	3,6	12,3	6,5
Ministerial Association Address	25,4	5	7,4	13,6	8,7	7,4
"Ich bin ein Berliner"	14,2	7,1	12,8	7,1	7,1	4,3
Cuban Missile Crisis Address	13,8	6,5	6,1	2,4	5,7	1,6
Commencement Address	19,2	8,1	14,2	5,5	8,4	5,8
Civil Rights Address	19,7	7,1	4,5	6,6	7,6	4
Overall mean score	19	6,8	10,3	6,5	8,3	4,9
Std. Deviation	4,4	1	4,9	3,9	2,2	2
Range	11,6	3,1	12,1	11,2	6,6	5,8

Ronald Reagan	Negativ.	Adv. intensif.	Expr. of feelings	Qualif.	Retract.	Explain.
Inaugural Address	18,7	4,9	9,4	2,4	4,1	4,1
"A Time for Choosing"	16,2	7,1	3,5	7,1	5,4	3
Brandenburg Gate Address	8,4	4,8	5,5	7	7,7	4,8
40th Anniversary of D-Day Address	10,2	4,3	1,6	6,5	4,3	2,7
"Evil Empire"	13,1	7,7	4,6	5,9	7,2	2,8
Shuttle Tragedy Address	16,9	7,7	21,5	7,7	10,7	0
Overall mean score	13,9	6,1	7,7	6,1	6,6	2,9
Std. Deviation	4	1,6	7,2	1,9	2,5	1,6
Range	10,3	3,4	19,9	5,3	6,6	4,8

Barack Obama	Negativ.	Adv. intensif.	Expr. of feelings	Qualif.	Retract.	Explain.
Inaugural Address	15,4	7,3	15	4,5	8,9	6,5
“A More Perfect Union”	16,9	9,5	6,8	8,7	7,2	2,4
“A New Beginning”	14,5	5,6	8,1	3,5	7,3	5,1
Nobel Prize Acceptance Speech	18,5	9,8	4,7	8,9	10,1	7,3
Commencement Address	11,6	10	11,1	8,3	7,5	5,3
President-Elect Victory Speech	15,5	8,2	6,8	4,9	6,8	4,4
Overall mean score	15,4	8,4	8,8	6,5	8	5,2
Std. Deviation	2,3	1,7	3,7	2,4	1,3	1,7
Range	6,9	4,4	10	5,4	3,3	4,9

Gerald Ford	Negativ.	Adv. intens.	Expr. of feelings	Qualif.	Retract.	Explain.
Inaugural Address	23,5	11,8	17,6	0	11,8	2,4
Republican Nomination Address	13,5	5,2	8,6	3,8	7,3	1
Helsinki Address	11,1	7,5	7,2	1,8	8,2	2,9
Vietnam-era Evaders Address	6,8	5,1	8,5	5,1	5,1	5,1
Commencement Address	14,5	14,5	11,9	9,3	9,8	5,2
1975 State of the Union Address	8,2	5,3	1	2,7	3,6	1,9
Mean	12,9	8,2	9,1	3,8	7,6	3,1
Std. Deviation	6	4	5,5	3,2	3	1,7
Range	16,7	9,4	16,6	9	8,2	4,2

Analysis of creative expressions and rhetorical questions

John F. Kennedy	Rhetor. quest. (units per 1000 words)	Creat. express. (units per 1000 words)	Creative expressions include: Metaph. (units)	Contrast (units)	Parallel. (units)	Lists (units)	Other (units)
Inaugural Address	1,5	45,6	22	12	6	5	18
Ministerial Association Address	0,6	20,4	4	4	7	14	4
"Ich bin ein Berliner"	0	18,5	2	7	2	2	0
Cuban Missile Crisis Address	0	7,7	9	1	0	5	4
Commencement Address	0,6	16,8	14	12	7	10	15
Civil Rights Address	1,5	9,1	7	1	4	2	4
Overall mean score	0,7	19,7					
Std. Deviation	0,7	13,7					
Range	1,5	37,9					

Ronald Reagan	Rhetor. quest. (units per 1000 words)	Creat. express. (units per 1000 words)	Creative expressions include: Metaph. (units)	Contrast (units)	Parallel. (units)	Lists (units)	Other (units)
Inaugural Address	2	22	13	12	6	15	8
"A Time for Choosing"	5,2	14,7	34	7	0	4	23
Brandenburg Gate Address	1,1	10,3	8	6	2	9	3
40th Anniversary of D-Day Address	2,7	17,2	8	3	4	6	11
"Evil Empire"	1	9,3	20	0	2	4	10
Shuttle Tragedy Address	0	13,8	6	1	0	2	0

Overall mean score	2	14,6
Std. Deviation	1,8	4,7
Range	5,2	12,7

Barack Obama	Rhetor. quest. (units per 1000 words)	Creat. express. (units per 1000 words)	Creative expressions include: Metaph. (units)	Contrast (units)	Parallel. (units)	Lists (units)	Other (units)
Inaugural Address	0	28,8	35	6	8	19	3
"A More Perfect Union"	1	20,3	31	17	1	30	23
"A New Beginning"	0	13,4	19	18	8	31	5
Nobel Prize Acceptance Speech	0,5	16,6	20	12	12	18	9
Commencement Address	1,1	18	24	6	10	13	12
President-Elect Victory Speech	1	24,3	13	6	5	22	4
Overall mean score	0,6	20,2					
Std. Deviation	0,5	5,6					
Range	1,1	15,4					

Gerald Ford	Rhetor quest. (units per 1000 words)	Creat. express. (units per 1000 words)	Creative expressions include: Metaph. (units)	Contrast (units)	Parallel. (units)	Lists (units)	Other (units)
Inaugural Address	1,2	15,3	4	4	0	4	1
Republican Nomination Address	0,3	19,4	9	9	9	24	5
Helsinki Address	2,9	13,3	9	4	2	18	4
Vietnam-era Evaders Address	0	8,5	2	2	0	1	0
Commencement Address	0	16,6	12	3	2	7	8

1975 State of the Union Address	0	6,1	5	3	0	13	4
Mean	0,7	13,2					
Std. Deviation	1,2	5					
Range	2,9	13,3					